FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-173
Friday
8 September 1989

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-173

CONTENTS

8 September 1989

ALBANIA

Party Daily Justifies Hitler-Stalin Pact *[ZERI I POPULLIT 1 Sep]* 1
Yugoslavian Book on Kosovo Reviewed *[ATA]* 1
Alia Greets Libya's Qadhdhafi on National Day *[ATA]* 6
Alia, Carcani Greet Vietnamese Counterparts *[Tirana Radio]* 6

BULGARIA

Bush Signs 'Secret' Anti-drug Directive *[Sofia Radio]* 8
Foreign Ministry Protests Turkish Position *[BTA]* 8
Kurdish Leader Criticizes Turkish Border Policy *[BTA]* 8
Leaders' Public Appearances for 26 Aug-1 Sep 9

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Johanes, FRG Official Discuss Refugee Issue *[CTK]* 10
Vaclavik To Visit PRC, DPRK Soon *[CTK]* 10
Chilean Communists Address News Conference *[RUDE PRAVO 5 Sep]* 10
Fojtik Views Reform, Rejects Brzezinski Comments *[RUDE PRAVO 5 Sep]* 10
Environmentalists Oppose Tourism Project *[RUDE PRAVO 2 Sep]* 15
Impact of Pollution on Health Discussed *[RUDE PRAVO 6 Sep]* 16
CPCZ Presidium Discusses Enviromental Problems *[CTK]* 16
Government Discusses Economic Bills, Law *[CTK]* 16
Official Statistics Distrusted, 'Inadequate' *[RUDE PRAVO 6 Sep]* 17

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

'Illegal Residence' Position Emphasized to FRG *[East Berlin Radio]* 18
Citizens Leave FRG Mission *[East Berlin Radio]* 18
Schabowski Hits 'Slander' by FRG Media *[East Berlin Radio]* 18
Money Reportedly Demanded for Refugees *[Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG 8 Sep]* 18
At Least 40 People Arrested in Alexanderplatz *[DPA]* 18
Police Bar Journalists *[DPA]* 18
Activists Say SED 'Discredited' Socialism *[Cologne Radio]* 19
Beil Holds Reception at Start of Autumn Fair *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 4 Sep]* 19
Trade Agreements Signed *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 5 Sep]* 19
SED Sends Greetings to U.S. Communists *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 1 Sep]* 20
Honecker Congratulates Vietnamese Leaders *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 2-3 Sep]* 21
Honecker Sends Greetings to Al-Qadhdhafi *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND]* 21
College Rector Defends Socialist System *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 Aug]* 21

HUNGARY

Daily Reports on Bush's Anti-Drug Campaign *[NEPSZABADSAG 7 Sep]* 25
U.S. Extends Hungary's MFN Status for 3 Years *[MTI]* 25
Beck Comments on Extension *[MTI]* 25
Further Reportage on GDR Refugee Problem 26
Cabinet Examines Issue *[Hamburg DPA]* 26
GDR Envoy Holds News Conference *[MTI]* 26
Further From GDR Envoy *[East Berlin Radio]* 26
'Secret Agreement' Denied *[Budapest Radio]* 27
Government Confirms Stand *[Budapest Radio]* 27
Spokesman Bajnok on Issue *[MTI]* 27

Government Deplores CSSR Diversion of Danube *[Budapest Radio]* 28
Soviet Plans To Sell Oil for Dollars Denied *[MTI]* 28
UK's King Ends Visit; Seen Off by Karpati *[MTI]* 28
Angolan President Dos Santos Arrives on Visit *[MTI]* 29
Meets Straub, Horvath *[MTI]* 29
Receives Nyers *[MTI]* 29
Meets Deputy Premier *[MTI]* 29
Given Dinner by Straub *[MTI]* 29
Departs 8 Sep *[MTI]* 30
MSZMP Delegates Elected, Congress To Open 30
Pozsgay Not Elected in Debrecen *[Budapest Radio]* 30
Debrecen Election Analyzed *[Budapest Radio]* 30
Reform Circles View Elections *[MTI]* 30
Pozsgay Interview on New Movement *[Budapest TV]* 31
Pozsgay Elected in Kecskemet *[Budapest Radio]* 31
Statutes of Congress Left Open *[Budapest Radio]* 31
More on Congress Preparations *[MTI]* 31
Grosz Interviewed on Position of Party Secretary *[NEPSZABADSAG 6 Sep]* 32
SZOT Chief Nagy Addresses Miners' Rally *[NEPSZAVA 31 Aug]* 33

POLAND

Walesa Meets FRG's Kohl, Von Weizsaecker *[PAP]* 34
Further Reportage on Visit 34
Warsaw Lists Probable Ministerial Line-Up *[Warsaw Radio]* 34
Further Details *[Warsaw Radio]* 35
Solidarity Paper Speculation *[PAP]* 35
Geremek Comments *[PAP]* 36
Senate President on Government Formation *[Vienna DIE PRESSE 7 Sep]* 36
Mazowiecki Talks to Minor Political Leaders *[TRYBUNA LUDU 5 Sep]* 37
Miller Urges Compromise on Key Ministries *[Paris LIBERATION 4 Sep]* 37
PZPR Floor Group's Relations Discussed *[PAP]* 39
Candidate Hearing Held *[PAP]* 39
Bentkowski Comments on ZSL Candidates *[PAP]* 39
Solidarity Spokesman on Floor Group Meeting *[PAP]* 39
Kiszczak on Changes in Internal Affairs Ministry *[Warsaw Radio]* 40
Sejm Committees To Review Cabinet Candidates *[PAP]* 40
Christian Socialists Support Mazowiecki *[PAP]* 40
PZPR CC Secretary Rakowski on Party Role *[TRYBUNA LUDU 2-3 Sep]* 40
Orzechowski Speaks on PZPR Role in Government *[Warsaw Radio]* 42
Senate President Views Solidarity's New Role *[Vienna DER STANDARD 7 Sep]* 42
OPZZ Adopts Stance on Sociopolitical Situation *[Warsaw Radio]* 43
Seeks Formation of New Front *[PAP]* 43
Daily on Patience With Economic Change *[PAP]* 43
Jaruzelski Addresses Historian Congress *[Warsaw Radio]* 44
Citizens Militia Reserve Under Threat *[TRYBUNA LUDU 4 Sep]* 44
Glemp on Auschwitz Carmelite Convent *[PAP]* 45
Commentary on 'Erosion' of Nonaligned Movement
[Gielzynski in GAZETA WYBORCZA 6 Sep] 45

ROMANIA

SCINTEIA Notes Leading Role of Party *[AGERPRES]* 47
Party Newspaper Rejects 'Bourgeois' Democracy *[AGERPRES]* 47
Society Steadily Improves Under Socialism *[AGERPRES]* 48
Ceausescu Speech Rejects Privatization *[AGERPRES]* 49
SCINTEIA Comments on Party Role *[AGERPRES]* 51
Central Committee Greets Communist Party USA *[SCINTEIA 2 Sep]* 53

YUGOSLAVIA

Iranian Paper Criticizes Belgrade, 'Arafat *[BORBA 6 Sep]* 54
BORBA Praises 'Realism' Shown at Summit *[5 Sep]* 54
Issue of Illegal Border Crossings Viewed *[BORBA 22 Aug]* 55
Secretariat Statement on Helsinki Group Visit *[Belgrade Radio]* 55
TANJUG, BAKHTAR Sign Exchange Agreement 56
Nigerian President To Arrive on Official Visit *[TANJUG]* 56
'Anti-Serbian Slogans' Reported in Ljubljana *[BORBA 4 Sep]* 56
Slovenes, Serbs Contrast on Self-Determination *[Ljubljana Radio]* 56
Knin Society Criticizes 'Croatian Bureaucrats' *[Belgrade Radio]* 57
Albanian Pamphlets Call for Protests, Strikes *[BORBA 4 Sep]* 57
Kosovo, Pec Teachers 6-Day Strikes End *[TANJUG]* 58
Titograd Party Plans To Purge Ranks, Reform *[Vukasinovic in BORBA 6 Sep]* 58
Sarajevo TV Interrupts Program on Cer Battle *[POLITIKA 30 Aug]* 58
BORBA Sued For Violating Author's Copyright *[BORBA 30 Aug]* 59
DELO Comments on Farming Policy, Protest *[Jager, 29 Aug]* 59

Party Daily Justifies Hitler-Stalin Pact

AU0609201189 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 1 Sep 89 p 4

[Shyqri Ballvora article: "World War II—Spawn of Imperialist Policy for World Hegemony and Domination"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The bargaining among the main imperialist powers of Europe culminated in the notorious Munich agreement of September 1938 between the leaders of the French and British governments on one side, and Hitler and Mussolini on the other. Germany was given the right to invade the Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia. A few months later, in March 1939, Germany invaded the whole of Czechoslovakia, which had been betrayed from within and had been isolated and abandoned by the great powers. The Munich agreement encouraged Fascist Italy to accomplish its plan to invade Albania. Mussolini was convinced that the Western European imperialist powers would once again raise no obstacle. "It was in Britain's interest that Italy should invade Albania," Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote, "because Britain's plan was to unleash Italian Fascism and German Nazism, which she had been financing, like hounds against the Soviet Union."

Only the Soviet Union condemned the Munich agreement. The Germans were given "land in Czechoslovakia," Stalin said at the 18th Bolshevik Party Congress in March 1939, "in reward for their promise to declare war against the Soviet Union." The government of the United States was not represented at Munich, but it welcomed and in fact approved the decisions made at the Munich conference.

The Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership produced specific proposals for a common front with Britain and France against the aggressive Fascist powers, but this proposal lapsed and was in fact rejected by the Western governments, just as France rejected the Soviet Government's proposal to fight for the defense of Czechoslovakia in accordance with treaty obligations. After all the Soviet Government's efforts to reach a joint agreement with Britain and France against the Fascist aggressors, and the Western powers' aims of isolating the Soviet Union became clear, the Soviet Government was compelled to accept Germany's proposal of a nonaggression pact. The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, which bourgeois and revisionist propaganda has used as a source of much speculation in order to defame Stalin's character, was the only way under these circumstances to avoid a swift attack by Hitler's Germany against the Soviet Union. It was entirely clear to the Soviet Government led by Stalin that the principal aim of Hitler's Germany was, above all, a large-scale war against the Soviet Union. Thus, in the situation that had arisen, it was necessary for the Soviet Union to gain time in order to build a line of defense along its western borders. [passage omitted]

Yugoslavian Book on Kosovo Reviewed

AU0309173189 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 3 Sep 89

["Apology for Violence in Kosovo—On the Book 'Kosovo, the Past and Present,' Publication of the Review MEZDUNARODNA POLITIKA, Belgrade 1989"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, September 3 (ATA)—Under the above title, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an article on September 3, written by Professor Sofokli Lazri, director of the International Relations Studies Institute. It says:

A few days ago, a book called "white," but it cannot be "blacker," was put into circulation in Belgrade. The book, entitled "Kosovo, the Past and Present," is also translated in foreign languages and is quickly distributed in the UNO [United Nations Organization] and various countries. In fact it is a book made up of some tendentious, antiscientific propaganda articles, suitable for the yellow press.

The Yugoslav official organs were long since saying that through this book they would clarify the Kosovo problem, would prove that there they have always acted correctly, that even the terror and murders of the Albanians are justifiable.

Usually, Yugoslavia tries to create for itself the image of an emancipated country, an ultracivilized European country, and even as pioneer of the political and economic ideologies of the 21st century. But, when you read the insignificant articles of the "white book" on Kosovo, that vulgar phraseology pervaded by a savage hatred for the Albanians, as a people and nation, you cannot fail to think that the words friendship and quality amongst nations, social justice and emancipation, that the Yugoslavs use for export are the vilest hypocrisy.

It also poses as standard bearer of nonaligned countries, it even claims to show the others how to progress, how to solve the disagreements, how to realize the concepts of time, how to march to progress. But in the "white book" it is presented Belgrade's second countenance, that of violating the democratic rights and freedoms of citizens. The book contains over 500 pages but in no line it explains why scores of peaceful Albanians were assassinated, why thousands of boys and girls are jailed, why the Albanian intelligentsia, scientists, teachers, education, language, and culture are discriminated. Instead of clarifying the public opinion why unemployment affects 35 percent of the able-bodied population, why the income per capita in Kosovo is one-third that of Serbia, efforts are made to deny the Albanians' history (no one knows where they have come from), to deny their present (the Constitution deprived them of autonomy), to deny their future (no one knows what lies in store for them).

According to this book, the Albanians have had and have nothing good. They occasionally [by chance] found

themselves in Kosovo. They have allegedly descended the mountains to discriminate against the Serbs. Even in the first centuries of the early mediaeval times, at the time of Ottoman occupation, at the time of Serb-Croatian reign of Karageorgevic, even at the time of fascism, and the present federal Yugoslavia as well, the Albanians have allegedly been reactionaries, savage concerning their customs and mode of living, without culture, without history. Nowhere, in no page of the book, it is condemned the chauvinist acts ever performed against the Albanians, the less so in modern Yugoslavia, for instance of the time of Rankovic, either in that of Chetniks, either at the time of the most obscure reaction, that of kings, who once were resolutely exposed by revolutionary Yugoslav Communists as D. Tucevic and his ilk. It is a pity that known scientists as V. Garasanin, drunk with chauvinistic vapours, go so far as to deny themselves. It is known that this author until lately upheld the thesis on the Illyrian origin of the Albanians, whereas in this book he writes the opposite. But it is not astonishing. When he as scientist permits himself to identify his signature with that of a policeman, as a certain Spasoje Djakovic, former UDBA [abbreviation of former title of Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs] chief in Kosovo, close collaborator of Rankovic, known for injuring thousands of Kosovo sons in 1945, hangman in the campaign of gathering weapons in 1956, one can speak no longer of seriousness and integrity either intellectual or scientific.

Every neutral reader, if he is patient to read this book from cover to cover, cannot fail to see the degradation of Yugoslavia, he cannot fail to see how backward and primitive is the political view of that part of leadership that leads and exerts its influence upon its public opinion.

It is enough to read this book to realize that what is occurring in Kosovo and far and wide Yugoslavia represents a reaction against the concepts of the time and democratic developments on our continent and far and wide the world.

Yugoslavia is faced with a general crisis: economic, political, institutional, and among nations. It is also faced with a great spiritual crisis, regarding the lack of a clear prospect for the near future. But Yugoslavia suffers from another specific factor. It also suffers because of the fact that in Yugoslavia do not exist any longer those conditions for which the big powers in rivalry and contending with one another attained a—fragile perhaps conjuctural [fortuitous] equilibrium, of compromises and agreements of the day. For different interests and causes, all, the East and West, the Third World and nonaligned, the yellow and white races have caressed Yugoslavia. In the international community it is considered as the sole and sick child, whose all mistakes are forgiven and caprices are satisfied. This situation was very clearly reflected some time ago by a Yugoslav leader when he said: "There exists no longer the danger of war. Moscow unleashes no longer threats. We are moneyless. Now we are really alone and in order to survive we must learn to walk on our own."

But precisely now when Yugoslavia must walk on its own, it is not finding the right road to tread on, to maintain its independence and freedom, to ensure the necessary stability for a democratic and progressive development. The worst so, in Yugoslavia several political phenomena have emerged which are embarking it on a dangerous road not only for it, but also for the others. Serbian nationalism, a primitive and extremely aggressive nationalism, has appeared on the Yugoslav political scene.

The programme of the Serbian nationalists is clear. They seek the destruction of the federal system and of the Yugoslavia of AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and its return under the prewar Serbian unitarian, centralist and hegemonic domination, certainly in new forms. The first act of this tragedy of the peoples of Yugoslavia was played. Kosovo and Vojvodina, two constituent units of the federation, were deprived of autonomy and practically were transformed into Serbia's administrative regional units. Montenegro, following the violent overthrow of the previous leadership, attached to Serbia. Macedonia's incorporation seems to be near and without any great resistance. The Serb march is now heading to the north. No-one knows whether and when it will stop. Still unknown remains the fact if the foreign forces will interfere in Yugoslavia's home affairs, to what extent will they interfere, what forms and impact their interferences may have on the Balkan relations, on the actual relations and equilibriums in Europe, on the processes and dialogues going on this continent.

But what is already known is that the peoples of Yugoslavia cannot easily accept a hegemony and domination of Serbia. Hardly can one think that they will easily give up an ideal of liberation war and an historic 45-year practice.

Precisely this worry justifies the concern of the international public opinion regarding the Yugoslav events, the preoccupation of the European Parliament and U.S. Senate on the dangerous inclinations of Serb nationalism. This worry also justifies the fact that writers and reporters far and wide the world, different social organizations and known political and social personalities have condemned the oppression of the Albanians of Kosovo and the violation of human rights in Yugoslavia.

Some time ago a Yugoslav newspaper wrote that "Yugoslavia will turn into Kosovo, in case it does not solve the problem of Kosovo." This is true, but there is also something else true. The Yugoslav crisis cannot be solved in case the mistakes made and being made in Yugoslavia are not openly and publicly accepted. The aggravation of interethnic relations is inevitable.

They in Slovenia and Croatia, and somewhat less in Bosnia, have started to be aware of the danger Serbian hegemonism poses. But it is paradoxical that while voicing alarming cries against it, at the same time they

wholly approve the big-Serbian propaganda theses concerning Kosovo and the repressive measures against the Albanians they together with the Serbian nationalists voted for in various assemblies.

In a speech held at the beginning of August in Alkan, Sinj, in the Adriatic shore, the most well-known current representative of Croatia, Stipe Suvar, stated that during the working out of the new constitution, no solution "can be imposed from above and no-one can dictate his desire and interests." Yugoslavia's new constitution, he added, cannot be a constitution of centralism and unitarianism, but it should guarantee the normal and effective functioning of the Yugoslav federation, it should express the interests of the majority of our nations, on the basis of all our republics' consensus." When reading these words in his statements, you may think that he directly attacks Serbian nationalism, and defends Yugoslav federalism.

But further on he destroys the content, meaning, and address of the words by adding that "According to my opinion, this is a preliminary condition for the repression of nationalism, including the Albanian nationalism in Kosovo Province, which menaces the country's territorial integrity."

It makes one feel like crying and laughing. But we would like to put a question to Mr Suvar: Does he really think that the Albanians of Kosovo are not for that the Yugoslav Constitution expresses the interests of the majority of all nations? [sentence as received] But why were they killed by the tanks dispatched in Kosovo, maybe, because they were demanding another constitution from that he agrees with?

The Croatian, Slovenian stands towards the events in Kosovo after Tito's death, the compromises attained, concessions made, and above all, all that omerta [word as received] for the crimes of the anti-Albanian mafia, cannot be explained only with a mere political naivety. They cannot be explained as a tactical stand either, which aims to direct the nationalistic Serbian hordes towards the south so that the north remains tranquil. There is only one explanation. All these opportunist attitudes are guided by the thought that by satisfying the appetite of Serbian nationalism, it will accept to share the power. The calculations were not bad, but they forgot that appetite comes with eating. Practice is revealing that the view that the Yugoslav crises can be solved by creating a Serbian-Croatian or Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian axis to exert a common economic and political power in Yugoslavia proved to be both erroneous and harmful.

Abandoning Kosovo at the mercy of Serbian nationalism, without defending the principles of federalism, the existing state and social practice, sanctioned in the 1974 Constitution, the Croatians and Slovenians gave up arms with which they would defend themselves in front of the direct attack of big-Serbian hegemonism and unitarianism.

In the speech that Milosevic held on occasion of the 600th anniversary of the Kosovo Battle in Gazi Mestan, he said that since the time when the Turks came to Serbia in the 14th century "only this year the people in Serbia gained their freedom and state, national and spiritual sovereignty." The National Liberation War, the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Tito, AVNOJ, federation, and other symbols and notions of new Yugoslavia might be added to the Turks of Sultan Murat, that is to Serbia's enemies. He openly said to those present that postwar Yugoslavia ought to be thrown in the dustbin and in case it is not realised peacefully then it should be done by arms.

Interesting is the fact that the official representatives of the federation and the other republics listened without the slightest reaction to these statements and severe threats of the Serbian president.

Certainly one cannot think that the "come to attention" stand before the Serbian nationalistic leader was as a result of the lack of their political and personal courage, or of non-evaluating the said words.

This happened because they put on the green light and instigated the arrogance of Serbian nationalists since the time when they approved the amendments to Serbia's Constitution which restricted the autonomy of the provinces, since the time when they voted for the imposition of the state of emergency in Kosovo, since when they did not demand explanations for the assassination of the Albanians, when they did not understand that the destiny of Yugoslavia of AVNOJ was dependent on the stand towards the Stari Trg events.

The actual leaders in power of the Republic of Macedonia adopted a wholly irresponsible stand towards the Albanians and the future of their compatriots.

Although Macedonia is under the direct menace of being engulfed by Serbia and there exists the danger of its wholly [as received] assimilation within a short period of time, they have launched an ultranationalist campaign against the Albanians, with whom they share the same destiny and have fought side by side against the big-Serbian nationalism and hegemonism.

It is a fact that the policy of national oppression and of the restriction of the democratic rights of the Albanians in Yugoslavia was transformed into a general and concrete programme of Serbian nationalism to establish its domination throughout the country. The current Slovenian-Serbian and Croatian-Serbian conflicts which keep aggravating very quickly clearly testify to this. Present day Kosovo is a mirror of the morrow of their republics.

In order to justify the national oppression in Kosovo the Serbian nationalists claim that the blame rests on the so-called Albanian separatists, who allegedly want its secession from Yugoslavia.

We are not going to judge whether there are or not Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosovo, how

many and where are they. Perhaps there are, as long as there are such even in Slovenia, even in Serbia, even in Montenegro. Let it be so. But, if there exists separatism in Kosovo, why should autonomy be eliminated, why should education in the mother tongue be restricted, why should the Albanians' historic traditions be denied?

It would be more than naive that a political leadership should not understand that such repressive measures directly assist separatism, supply it not only with weapons, facts, arguments, but also with an objective ground to revive and justify the correctness of its ends.

The repressive measures adopted in Kosovo were sufficient to revive in Slovenia the idea of secession from Yugoslavia. This idea was even transformed into a movement which seeks to sanction in the republican constitutions the right of the republic for secession. The separatists in Yugoslavia are offsprings of the Serbian nationalism, of its hegemonic claims of national oppression of the other peoples, it is this nationalism which is fraught with the danger of disintegrating the federation.

There exists the idea, mainly outside Yugoslavia, that the improvement of the economic situation would solve also all its other problems. The Croatians and Slovenians too have been of the same opinion until now, although many of them have begun to doubt.

It is supposed that by establishing certain regulations of free trade, by receiving any foreign loans and any other injection of the kind, tranquility will prevail at home. This is an illusion, because until now no economy has developed and progressed in a non-democratic environment.

The key problem in Yugoslavia on which depend also the solutions of the other matters is the political one, that is the conflict between Serbian federalism and unitarianism, between nationalist democracy and centralism. In case federalism and democracy win, the economic problem too will be solved. On the contrary the economy will be transformed into a battlefield of various political groupings which would judge and act upon it, not according to the logic of its laws, but according to the logic of the struggle for power.

Owing to its national structure, the historic traditions, the composition of its population, none of the nations in present-day Yugoslavia can forcibly maintain its domination over the others. Even Serbia, which has this claim, has neither the military potential, nor the economic one, the less so the ideological and cultural one to realise such a thing.

Even if all the Serbs were policemen, they would not be sufficient to put under control the Albanians and Croatians, Montenegrins and Slovenians. On the other hand people are needed to work to maintain all that repressive apparatus it is in need of.

Henceforth, only the democratic alternative can solve the national conflicts and bring Yugoslavia out of the crisis they bring about. No sound logic can accept that Kosovo's autonomy as well as the existence of the other republics weakens Serbia and Yugoslavia, as it is said and written in Belgrade nowadays; on the contrary, the broad autonomy of Kosovo, the national and democratic emancipation of its population, would bring about a spirit of harmony and conciliation in Serbia and Yugoslavia, will influence the democratisation of the state and social life, the understanding and confidence among the people. Whereas the restrictions of the autonomy, the national and democratic rights of the Albanians and the other peoples objectively and inevitably would bring about not only frictions, resistance and revolts amongst them, but the violence to defend the restrictions would be transformed into a generator of the racist and obscurantist ideas, into destructive weapons for the life in Serbia itself. These consequences are already seen clearly in many aspects.

To date, in their unrestrained nationalistic euphoria, the Serbians have written and said whatever they liked on the Albanians. This is reflected also in the so-called "white book" on Kosovo.

For instance, they say that the Albanians have no historic traditions, they have not been an ethnically developed, conscious people, that they have been lacking state-forming abilities, and other inventions of a chauvinist-ridden fantasy. The aim of this propaganda is clear. By denying to the Albanians the ancientness of the territories they are living in, their national history and traditions, their original way of living, their participation in the Antifascist War and the construction of Federal Yugoslavia, they seek to negate also the demands of the Albanians of Kosovo in defence of their national rights for equality in the Yugoslav state, for autonomy and other democratic rights belonging to them. Now the Serbian nationalists have begun to negate even the national and historic inheritance of the Montenegrins, to call the Bosnians Islamized Serbians, and the Macedonians Serbians of the south. It is also taken aim at the historic inheritance of the Yugoslav Communist Party and of the Yugoslav Federation, who are accused of being responsible for all evils befallen to Serbia and Yugoslavia. The aim is the same, to remove the obstacles hindering the establishment of the absolute domination of the Serbian nationalism. The ideology is the same, it is the ideology of contempt and hatred for the other peoples.

It is really a political craziness that the ethnic problems in a multinational state be solved today by nourishing the mentalities of the medieval principalities and through the means of once colonialism as the Serbian nationalists are doing. But whatever may happen in Kosovo, it cannot be maintained as a colony, and the Albanians as emigrants either.

The present time is no more that of the feudal kings, of conquistadors, colonizers of oppression, and assimilation of nations.

We live in the epoch when all the continents are awakening, when all the peoples are becoming conscious of

the national and social cause, in the epoch of the democratization of the international relations. The world marches forward and backward. Therefore one should give up those stale theses which smell of mediaeval mould, but which are turned into heavy chains and have also bound the hands of the progressive forces in Yugoslavia to a considerable extent. One of these theses is that Kosovo allegedly represents the historic hearth of the Serbian people and of the creation of its state. This is a literary myth created by the Serbian national-romantic writers and poets of the past century, and an expansionist slogan of the Serbian state during the Balkan occupation wars.

It is common knowledge that the Slavs have come very lately in the Balkans. They came at a time when the ancient and autochthonous peoples of this peninsula, the Hellenes and the Illyrians, had achieved the climax of civilisation and development. It is true that the outposts of the Slavic eruption reached Peloponnisos and Vlore, as they did also in Kosovo, but this cannot be an argument of claiming that these territories belong to the Slavs.

One may guess what would happen in Europe if the history of eruptions and migrations of the Roman and Greek, Slavic and German, Anglo-Saxon and Nordic, Arab, and other tribes was politicized just as it is happening in Yugoslavia with the Serbian nationalists who are too anxious to know where do the ethnic borders of this or that nation extend to, where is the historic nucleus of this or that state created, which is the cradle of this or that people, where is this or that prince or saint buried, which battle has saved Europe, and so on and so forth. If in Kosovo there is a Serbian medieval church, in the present territory of Yugoslavia there are monuments of more distant antiquity and of a full national identity as the Illyrian-Albanian ones.

But the civilised nations do not live on myths and moreover they do not turn them into concrete political activities. Certainly the Serbians are not the first who do not want to acknowledge either the historic realities or the existing ones. There have also been others, but as known all experienced an abortive end.

The other propaganda thesis which is almost turned into a legal reasoning is that the Albanians in Yugoslavia are allegedly a minority. One can find no colossal absurdity. Compared with whom do the Albanians constitute a minority? Compared with the Slovenians, Macedonians, Croatians, or Montenegrins? If they are a minority compared with the Serbians as such are also the Croatians, the Slovenes and the other peoples in Yugoslavia.

The Albanians in Yugoslavia who make up nearly 3 millions live for centuries in a compact territory, have their ancient and original culture, traditions, language. They represent the third nation as regards to the number of the population, after the Serbians and Croatians. They are, as is also said in the Constitution of the SFRY, its constituent element.

In the Yugoslav legislation itself, the Albanian population is not treated of and not identified with the minorities, but it is considered as a separate nationality, something which is reflected also in the Yugoslav constitutional right, which puts it on a par with the other subjects of the Yugoslav Federation.

In a multinational state, it is natural that a nation be in greater numbers, another of medium size, and another smaller. But this does not mean that they should not be equal from the juridical and constitutional point of view, that one should be treated of as a majority and the other as a minority, one having more rights and the other not.

Not only the political maturity and the sound state reason, but the inevitable objectiveness as well demand that all the nations and nationalities in a multinational state, despite the time and the way of their formation, despite their relationship, the economic and cultural development, they should enjoy the same juridical and social status. They should be allowed to self-management, to be acknowledged the right to solve their own problems in an independent way.

There exists another very much speculative thesis. According to it, the Serbians leave Kosovo under the pressure of the Albanians. This claim is a stale and groundless statement. It is true that many Serbians have departed from Kosovo, but still more Albanians have left it. If the Serbians who have departed from Kosovo are in scores of thousands, the Albanians make up hundreds of thousands.

The majority of them have emigrated from Kosovo because of economic reasons. Their province is undeveloped, backward and without any near prospect of progress. The Serbians find ever better jobs in Belgrade, Nis, Kragujevac, and other regions of Serbia, which have experienced a speedy and intensive industrialisation. The phenomenon of the evacuation of the poor rural zones and the settlement of people into the zones of industrial development is not a phenomenon occurring in Yugoslavia alone. But it is really a Yugoslav phenomenon that such a typical social fact is turned there into a political fact, into a motive for the national oppression of a whole population, as is happening with the Albanians in Kosovo.

But in Yugoslavia there is another truth on which they keep silent. Since the year 1945 up to now there have been forcefully expelled from Kosovo to Turkey some hundreds upon thousands of Albanians, who are deprived of the Yugoslav citizenship and of the right to return, something that does not happen with the other Yugoslav emigrants.

The historic and actual reality is changed neither by propaganda nor by violence. We have proceeded from this principle and this experience when saying that without the Albanians and more over against them the Kosovo problem cannot be solved, either can the other problems of Yugoslavia be solved. [sentence as received]

Likewise from this we have proceeded when saying that the problems that have emerged today in Kosovo and Yugoslavia could be considered with political maturity, realism, objectiveness, that there should be a correct understanding of the future and not a setback. The historic past might serve to draw lessons, but not to solve actual problems by mechanically repeating it. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has not interfered into the internal affairs of Yugoslavia. It has not interfered because noninterference into the others' affairs makes up one of the permanent and fundamental principles of its foreign policy. It has not interfered because it desires the stabilisation of Yugoslavia, of the Balkans and Europe. This is not a propaganda slogan, but a stand which stems from a simple political reasoning. Yugoslavia's destabilization and the eventual interference of the others into the developments that would be a result of this would bring about dangers to the neighbouring Albania as well.

Socialist Albania has stated that it is ready to help Yugoslavia by every possible means, but not at the expense of Kosovo. Nothing would be solved, even if it did that. Besides, it would be an act which would run counter to the realistic and objective solutions needed to overcome its crises. The fires in Yugoslavia would not be extinguished. It is a fact that the flames of the national feuds are spreading from Kosovo to the whole of Yugoslavia, that the national and democratic rights not only of the Albanians, but of its other peoples are questioned. Yugoslavia is a state made up of many nations, of very sound national characteristics, of separate, ancient, and stable original cultures, of various languages and beliefs; it is made up of peoples who have various international sympathies, friendships and links. Their coexistence, cooperation, and harmony might have a sole basis—they might have a political basis that takes into consideration the interests of the whole peoples, a basis that must have a Yugoslav common denominator. The problem whether Yugoslavia would be a state under the domination of the Serbian monarchy or of any kind of Serbia's hegemonism, or a federation built up on the basis of a broad autonomy of the nations, was solved since the time of the Antifascist War.

This was the fundamental problem of the National Liberation War. For its solution the peoples of Yugoslavia made the supreme sacrifice recording a toll of 1,700,000 casualties. It was solved in favour of the federal system that recognised the national rights of all the peoples without exception, of the Serbians, Croatians, Slovenians, Bosnians, Macedonians, Albanians, and others, that recognised their equality and autonomy. These principles were sanctioned in the AVNOJ decisions and were further legalised in the Yugoslav constitutions adopted later. Yugoslavia lived and developed in this way until now.

Through this state system Yugoslavia ensured first of all a coexistence acceptable by all its nations, it was unreservedly recognized by all on the international plane, it ensured a normal economic and cultural development. Therefore, every kind of national oppression, any effort to assimilate the other nations in the name of any of ideology, will give birth to resistance, unrests and conflicts, which would not lead to the consolidation of the so- called "state," "people's," "political," "ideological unity," but to a situation which one finds it difficult to conceive the internal and external consequences it might bring about.

Alia Greets Libya's Qadhdhafi on National Day

AU0109122289 Tirana ATA in English 0903 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Tirana, September 1 (ATA)—The president of the Presidium of the People's assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, has sent the following message of greetings to the leader of the September 1 Revolution of the Arab Libyan People's Socialist Jamahiriyah, Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi:

"On occasion of the National Day of Libya, the 20th anniversary of the September 1 Revolution, it is a pleasure for me that on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and on my behalf, to extend to you the most sincere greetings. On this remarkable jubilee I formulate the best wishes for the happiness of the friendly Libyan people and the country's progress and prosperity.

I wish that the relations of friendship and cooperation between Albania and Libya develop non-stop to the common benefit of our two fraternal peoples."

Alia, Carcani Greet Vietnamese Counterparts

AU0109194189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 1 Sep 89

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, have sent the following telegram to Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party Central Committee, Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the Council of State, and Do Muoi, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam:

On the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the proclamation of Vietnam's independence, in the name of the Albanian people, the AWP Central Committee, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and personally, we convey to you and through you to the Vietnamese people, the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Council of State, and the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam warm greetings and best wishes.

During the 44 years of their free and independent life the fraternal Vietnamese people, in resolute struggle against

imperialism, united the country and have achieved considerable progress through their tireless work in the development of the national economy and culture. On this memorable and historic day for the Vietnamese people, the Albanian people wish them wholeheartedly new successes in the socialist construction and the all-round strengthening of their country.

Availing ourselves of this opportunity, we express the conviction that the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries will be further developed and strengthened.

Bush Signs 'Secret' Anti-drug Directive

AU0809124989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] U.S. President George Bush signed a secret directive related to the international aspects of the U.S policy aimed at restricting drug traffic.

The daily NEWSDAY, citing Washington sources, reports that this directive envisages intelligence, military, and diplomatic action within the framework of the campaign against drug traffic which was announced by the White House.

The secret directive was reportedly signed at the beginning of last month following prolonged debates in the National Security Council. A high-ranking spokesman told NEWSDAY that the document maps out basic directives on applying economic and political pressure, including possible involvement of military units, to those countries in which drugs are produced and which do not cooperate in the struggle against drug traffic.

Foreign Ministry Protests Turkish Position

AU0709133789 Sofia BTA in English 1241 GMT 7 Sep 89

["The Turkish Side Is Violating Grossly the Agreement"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 7 (BTA)—Today at the Consular Department the Turkish ambassador in Sofia was informed about the following issues:

Recently, particularly after the unilateral actions of the Turkish authorities restricting the freedom of movement through the Bulgaro-Turkish border, the complaints of the Bulgarian citizens of the great difficulties which the Turkish consular services are creating on the territory of Bulgaria at the attempts of the former to travel to Turkey have become quite frequent. After a check had been made it was found that the competent Turkish bodies are arbitrarily breaking the conditions for issuing of visas which have been established by bilateral visa agreement in 1979. Thus, for instance the terms for issuing such visas are much longer than the regulated ones. Some sort of numbers are being given to the people, setting dates for admittance of visa applications not before May or June 1990. Documents are required which, on the one hand are not necessary by the force of the agreements, and on the other are outside the competence of the Bulgarian authorities.

These, as well as other similar actions on the side of Turkey are not only gross violation of the visa agreements existing between the two countries but are in contradiction with the spirit and letter of the final document of the Vienna follow-up meeting.

One gets the impression that the Turkish side is aiming at further aggravation of bilateral relations at undermining often their presently existing legal base.

The obstacles and difficulties are obviously aiming to cause once again psychosis and tensions among those wishing to travel to Turkey and are worsening the problems of the separated families.

The Consular Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has called the attention of the Turkish authorities to the inadmissibility of these violations and has insisted that they bring their actions related with the issuing of visas for the Bulgarian citizens in compliance with the agreements existing between the two countries.

The Consular Department recalls that at present the issues concerning the travel of Bulgarian citizens to Turkey and of Turkish citizens to Bulgaria are regulated by the visa agreement and by the agreement for alleviation of the international transport of passengers and goods on highway, of the two countries' governments signed on July 11, 1979.

Thus, for instance, according to Article 8 Item 1 of the visa agreement entrance visas for those wishing to visit their relatives, living in another country are issued "in a 7-day period after application of two application forms containing 10 questions and 2 photographs each."

Further on, Article 9, Item 1 of the same agreement reads that "The citizens of the agreeing countries who wish to visit in groups, or individually for tourist purposes the other agreeing country receive entrance visas in a 7-day period without filling in these application forms. The continuation of their sojourn is up to 15 days."

It is apparent that all Bulgarian citizens are in their right to require that the Turkish consular authorities in Bulgaria issue them entrance visas within the terms set by the agreement. The only Bulgarian document which is needed for that purpose is their travel passport with a Bulgarian exit visa.

Kurdish Leader Criticizes Turkish Border Policy

AU0809100689 Sofia BTA in English 0729 GMT 8 Sep 89

["The Duplicity of the Turkish Government"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, September 8 (BTA)—After the numerous statements and promises of the Ankara regime, the closing of the border with Bulgaria is yet another example of the Turkish Government duplicity, Mr Kemal Burkai, the secretary general of the Turkish Kurdish Socialist Party, told a BTA reporter.

To suit its nationalistic, pan-Turkish aims Turkey is long trying to use the fact that there are Muslims living in Bulgaria. Bulgaria's initiatives to solve the problems in the bilateral relations were adopted neither before nor now. The Turkish policy is directed against Bulgaria, for destabilizing the situation in the Balkans, the leader of the Turkish Kurdish Socialist Party stressed. This is proved by the unenviable position of the newcomers to

Turkey. They were promised work, dwellings, money but received nothing as there are many unemployed people in Turkey anyway. Being afraid about their narrow means the population itself looks with suspicion at the Bulgarian citizens who have arrived, he went on to say.

Mr Kemal Burkai indicated that the "noisy propaganda campaign of Turkey is aiming at fuelling of the nationalistic, pan-Turkish feelings among the ordinary citizens. The point is to draw the attention away from the pending problems in the country: the lack of democracy, economic weaknesses, unemployment, inflation, to cover their crimes agains a whole nation: the Kurdish one.

At a large press conference after that, the secretary general of the Turkish Kurdish Socialist Party called on the world public to adopt prompt initiatives for stopping the state terror in the areas inhabited by Kurds. He spoke of the mass deportation of the native inhabitants in the regions of Hakkari, Madrin and Siirt. Regular units of the Turkish Army, police and gendarmery take part in those operations. A few villages have been destroyed in the district of Siirt. According to information of refugees more than 40 thousand Kurds have been deported from the same region.

Mr Kemal Bukai expressed a fear that in the very near future chemical weapons might be used against the peaceful population.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 26 Aug-1 Sep

AU0209155489

[Editorial report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the monitoring period from 1500 GMT on 26 August through 1500 GMT on 1 September report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Andrey Lukanov, Petko Danchev, and Emil Khristov attended a national day reception at the Libyan Embassy on 31 August. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 31 Aug 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and State Council chairman, received in Varna on 27 August Myeczyslaw Rakowski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party. (Sofia BTA in English 1630 GMT 27 Aug 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, on 28 August in Sofia received Ion Radu, member of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Central Committee and Romanian deputy prime minister. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 28 Aug 89)

Ivan Panev, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the BCP Sofia City Committee, on 27 August at Sofia airport saw off Lev Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, CPSU Central Committee secretary, and first secretary of the CPSU Moscow City Committee. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 Aug 89)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, on 28 August attended the meeting in Sofia between Georgi Atanasov and Romania's Ion Radu. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 28 Aug 89) On 28 August Lukanov co-chaired the session of the Bulgarian-Romanian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 28 Aug 89) On 29 August Andrey Lukanov and Ion Radu signed a protocol on the work of the 17th session of the Bulgarian-Romanian Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. (Sofia BTA in English 1539 GMT 29 Aug 89) On 31 August Andrey Lukanov attended a festive meeting in Sofia to mark the Libyan national day. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 Aug 89)

Petko Danchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, on 28 August in Sofia received Romania's Ion Radu. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 28 Aug 89) On 30 August in Sofia Petko Danchev received Takao Watanabe, leader of the Japanese Foreign Investment Institute "EXIMBANK." (Sofia BTA in English 1552 GMT 30 Aug 89) On 31 August Danchev received Antoine Jubran, Syrian minister of industry. (Sofia BTA in English 1246 GMT 31 Aug 89) On 31 August Petko Danchev attended a reception at the Libyan Embassy in Sofia on the occasion of the country's national day. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 31 Aug 89)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science, and education, on 30 August in Sofia attended the opening session of the Sixth International Congress on Balkan Studies, and read Todor Zhivkov's greetings message to the participants. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 30 Aug 89). On 1 September Georgi Yordanov received Alain Decaux, France's minister delegate on francophony and international cultural relations. (Sofia BTA English 1752 GMT 1 Sep 89)

Johanes, FRG Official Discuss Refugee Issue

LD0709214989 Prague CTK in English 1955 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 7 (CTK)—At the request of West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes received here today political director of the West German Foreign Ministry Dieter Kastrup.

Dieter Kastrup presented the Czechoslovak Government the request of the West German Government to solve questions concerning the stay of GDR citizens at the West German Embassy in Prague. The Czechoslovak side stressed again the necessity of settling the issue between the two sovereign states—the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Vaclavik To Visit PRC, DPRK Soon

LD0809110989 Prague CTK in English 0903 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defence Minister Army General Milan Vaclavik will pay an official visit to China and People's Korea in the next few days.

The visits will take place at the invitation of Chinese Defence Minister Colonel-General Qin Jiwei and Korean Defence Minister Vice-Marshal O Chin-U.

Chilean Communists Address News Conference

AU0809084189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Sep 89 p 7

[Josef Vlcek report: "The People Want Democracy"]

[Excerpts] Prague (from our correspondent)—The main task in Chile today is the uniting of all opposition forces in the struggle against Pinochet's dictatorship. This was stated by Ociel Nunez, standing representative of the Communist Party of Chile in the CSSR, at a news conference held in Prague yesterday to mark the International Week of Solidarity With the People of Chile. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the forthcoming elections of the president, deputies, and senators, scheduled for 14 December, he said that—even though the elections will be held within the framework of the constitution of the present regime, and although Pinochet has the right to appoint nine members of the Senate and has designated himself as its life member—they will become an encouragement for democratic forces.

Ociel Nunez said that he has no doubt that Patricio Aylwin, the candidate of the opposition, will win the presidential election. Although the Communist Party of Chile does not agree with all points of the program of his coalition, it will fully support Aylwin's government in its democratization efforts. [passage omitted]

According to Jorge Caceres, representative of the Communist Party of Chile in the CSSR, left-wing forces want to become fully involved in the election campaign, together with other opposition forces. They will also field their own candidates in the parliamentary elections. There are, however, restrictions imposed by the Pinochet regime. The chance of standing as candidate in these elections will be denied to those who have not completed secondary education and to leading trade union representatives. [passage omitted]

Asked about the possibility of the legalization of the Communist Party of Chile and of the Socialist Party of Chile, J. Caceres said that both parties, which have been hit the hardest by the fascist dictatorship, maintain wide-ranging links with the masses and are active participants in political developments, which was also confirmed by the results of the October plebiscite. Members of the Communist Party of Chile and of the Socialist Party of Chile appear in public in present-day Chile, and will run as candidates in the December parliamentary elections. [passage omitted]

Fojtik Views Reform, Rejects Brzezinski Comments

AU0709143089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Sep 89 p 3

[Speech by Jan Fojtik, member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, delivered at an all-faculty gathering of Communists held at the CPCZ Central Committee Advanced School of Politics in Prague on 4 September: "We Must Not Lose Sight of the Aims Which We Are Fighting For"]

[Text] Today each of us is undoubtedly asking the question, what will this school year be like. Without gazing into a crystal ball, we can say one thing with certainty: The preparations for the 18th party congress, which we are currently embarking upon, and our approach toward fulfilling the program, which will be adopted by the congress, will, indisputably, activate the party and society, will bring many new things into our lives, and will place a number of unprecedented tasks before us. This will certainly be reflected in your lives and in the activity of such an important party institution as your school, in its involvement in party events, and in the contents of its teaching.

At the same time, the direction of the party's activity and the movement of the whole of society is predetermined. This direction is set out by the conclusions of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee session of December 1987, by the tasks of the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism, and by social restructuring in general. This is a solid platform for the constructive preparation of the congress.

When I say this, I would not be very pleased if someone were to draw the conclusion that we are clear about everything, about how we are to proceed, and that now the only issue is how to implement the tasks which have been laid down. The documents from the seventh CPCZ

Central Committee session and subsequent Central Committee sessions, with regard to the present, realistically present the purposeful program of fundamental social changes and they enable attention to be mainly concentrated on their gradual implementation; however, in the very process of their implementation, numerous and very important questions arise, questions to which it is necessary to seek a serious answer.

At the same time, it is impossible to avoid amending overrated ideas and re-evaluating some points of view which we have, to date, regarded as correct and binding. It is even impossible to avoid overall confrontation with our activities so far. Making progress envisages courage in dealing with the past, with its difficulties, and with everything that development has overcome. However, it is also necessary to see—and the dialectics of that development which today many people do not want to respect are contained in this—that if our work is to be successful, work which we are now getting down to, and if it is to bear its expected fruits, it must rely on everything positive from the past.

It is not by chance that those who do not identify with socialism fall into negative radicalism and that they wish peace, a stabilized political situation, and a social atmosphere necessary for creative work least of all.

If we emphasize that the restructuring of society, restructuring on which we have embarked, has a revolutionary character and that this involves substantial changes, we do not mean by this that now we are to turn everything upside down and in an indiscriminate manner condemn everything that was valid yesterday, to blacken everything that earlier generations of fighters for socialism and those who built it created. Yes, life is placing new tasks before us and because we neglected some things in the past, some tasks are very urgent. However, it proceeds from this that the question "who will prevail" should be asked once again and the question, what are the opposition groups striving for, groups who last year and this year began to conspicuously reveal themselves in the supposition that democratization offers them the chance for subversive activities.

We are deeply convinced that the question "who will prevail" was resolved 40 years ago in Czechoslovakia. We want restructuring and we are obliged to guarantee the revolutionary continuity of the further development of our society, to adequately respond to the challenge of the time, to meet the new needs and demands of the era of the scientific-technical revolution, and the internationalization of the world. In other words: Under the new conditions, by methods of political work, and by means of management which correspond to these conditions, we must continue in the revolution, we must appraise (never not appraise) the work begun by the national, democratic, and socialist revolution, the work which in our country led to the victory of socialism.

Someone may object: It is possible to continue the revolution without restructuring and without fundamental changes in the system of managing society.

However, every responsible analysis of the current state of our society indicates that it is impossible to avoid the changes which demand profound restructuring. This would have grave consequences. The difficulties which are palpable would escalate and intensify. Their accumulation would sooner or later lead our society into a crisis situation. This would threaten our future and the achievements which socialism has brought to our country.

It is enough to mention the necessity of transferring from the extensive development of the national economy to its intensive development. Is it true that we can afford to lose more time here? Has it not been shown sufficiently convincingly that the so-called cost mechanism, associated with the extensive type of economic growth, has long fulfilled its original mission and has not only become a brake on development but also the main reason for all the shortcomings and unfavorable tendencies in our national economy? To preserve this in any form would mean condemning ourselves to a hopeless trailing behind with all the consequences that this would bring for our country.

It was, therefore, correct that the CPCZ Central Committee decided to accelerate the process of the restructuring of the economic mechanism. From 1 January next year our entire national economy will enter into the new management conditions. At the same time, we know that this is the beginning of a very complicated process, the development of new kinds of value relations, and the implementation of an appraisal mechanism which, so far, has not operated in any socialist country. This must be founded upon a new quality of economic growth whose substance is the greatest possible utilization of scientific-technical progress, progress which is being realized by all kinds of innovations and which is linked with the continual growth of the complexity of human labor and its creative contents. Only in this way will it be possible to transfer the strategy of accelerating socioeconomic development from slogans into facts.

A fleeting glance at the past—at the attempts at economic reform to date—reveals that, so far, we have never approached this task in such a comprehensive manner. All of the previous steps were always accompanied by risks, the threat of which, in the end, led to the road along which we had embarked being abandoned. Even today we are aware of risks. Nevertheless, we are not blind, we see what is happening around us. Because we know about the dangers associated with attempts to implement economic reforms, we want to be and we must be consistent: We see a solution not only in the implementation of value relations and in the real independence and responsibility of enterprises but also in the creation of a new type of central management and in a new concept of the state plan which must enable and encourage enterprise independence and responsibility; however, at the same time, it is necessary to guarantee the priority of state interests, to provide for the rational development and utilization of the material and intellectual potential of society in the interest of the whole of society, in the interest of the future of our country and

the further development of socialism, and in the interest of the working man. The theory and practice of economic reform which encourages the motivation of an individual's working initiative by an intrinsic exploitative system is not acceptable for us.

Some people reproach us because we are not blindly following the countries which have already inaugurated reform processes and have gained, apparently, an advantage over us. Is the issue really about an advantage? We ask: Are we to make greater difficulties out of lesser ones at any price? Do people think that we will leap from the frying pan into the fire? Fortunately, we are not being forced into emergency and hasty solutions. Why, then, should we not select a well-thought-out and purposeful approach, evaluate experiences, and do what corresponds to our needs—first and foremost, to the need that best utilizes the advantages of socialism which has put down deep roots in our country? And if it has already been said that certain risks are always associated with great changes, are we not obliged to minimize them rather than increase them? The fundamental guarantees for the success of restructuring are, as we must continue to more vividly convince people, in political stability and economic balance.

This is also, by the way, one of the main conclusions of the historic lesson from 1968, a lesson which we must not forget. At that time, after the January session of the CPCZ Central Committee, great possibilities for strengthening and developing socialism in its Leninist concept opened up before our party and society. The party leadership, in which a right-wing opportunist wing prevailed, however, did not come to grips with the situation. Its irresponsible policy opened the way for the activation of forces which had decided to settle an account with February 1948 and introduce retaliation for the socialist revolution. No questions involving the deliberate implementation of a constructive program of social development, but questions involving a power struggle, were placed on the agenda of the period. Under the international conditions of that time, serious complications in relations between the countries of the socialist community were necessarily associated with this process. Disrupting the balance of forces between the Warsaw Pact and NATO states to our disadvantage would have had catastrophic consequences. At the same time, the then first secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, Alexander Dubcek, via his talks with party representatives of the countries in our community (and to this day it has still not been made clear what role his lack of political qualifications played in this or whether other factors were involved) constantly confirmed and intensified their anxieties about the fate of socialism and about whether our country will be willing or capable of fulfilling its undertakings in the Warsaw Pact political and military organization.

The loss of our allies' trust, which the then leadership of our party brought about, bore, as is well known, its own fruits.

I mention this because recently many people have once more turned to the past—and in doing so they spread the illusion that 1968 was a year of reforms which should have freed the way for the further development of socialism. The most radical programs or appeals will be of no help if the necessary conditions are not created for their implementation, if the social atmosphere which enables forces to be concentrated on resolving society's problems and on overcoming shortcomings is lacking, shortcomings which stand in the way of its development toward constructive and creative activity. Only the party can guarantee such conditions, only the party can seize the initiative and place at the forefront the changes which it spurs on without losing control over them and without letting in uncontrollable elements.

At present, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is under fire on all sides. Those who so enthusiastically advise us to follow the "example" of Poland or Hungary have far from only economic reform on their minds. They are demanding much more from us. They want us first of all to initiate "political reforms" by which they mean the destruction and elimination of the present political system, a system which is represented in our country by the National Front. They have a peculiar jargon, the same words which we currently use have a completely different meaning for them. For them the process of democratization is the very process for the subversion of the existing political system which was won by the working people in revolutionary struggles against fascism and the bourgeois system. It is not by chance that they are demanding a radical reevaluation of the whole of our modern history. They know the result beforehand (they are dogmatically adamant in this): according to them, the re- privatization of property must come about sooner or later (it does not matter in what form), "political pluralism" must also end in the departure (by force or voluntarily—preference is given to the voluntary course) of the Communist Party from political life.

We could envisage that the emphasis which some people demanding "radical reforms" are placing on the reappraisal of the past has its logic in the very fact that such a coming to grips with the mistakes of the past will enable a more accelerated course of action in dealing with contemporary problems. However, they are concerned about this least of all. In restructuring they do not see the continuation of the revolution; they see their only chance for a counterrevolution. However, this can only come about if aspersions are cast on the party's method and on socialist changes to date and if it is proven that socialism has not only not fulfilled the expectations with which its historical advance is associated but also that it has completely broken down. Under the pretext of its being "reformed" and of its "renewal", it is definitely to be done away with.

And it would seem that the "reform processes" in those countries which are being passed off as an example to us confirm this. Their very course—the method of its introduction—once more places the issue of the meaning

and final effect of the whole process of social restructuring before us. Today it is impossible to waver in front of this issue, it is necessary to give it an unequivocal answer. Will this restructuring really lead to the further development and the strengthening of socialism's position in the individual countries of our community and in the world? Will it prove the vitality and historic legitimacy of socialism, which no one, so far, on our side has doubted. Will it sustain the right of socialism in the future (which, of course, it is only possible to guarantee by its ability to develop dynamically)? Or is this—as very authoritative Western representatives today claim—the beginning of its end?

For example, Zbigniew Brzezinski, one time adviser to President J. Carter, openly states that "communism's long and painful agony" has started. Recently (10 July), he said in an interview with the French newspaper, LIBERATION, that the reforms which are being implemented in the socialist countries are "very far removed from those which are proclaimed by communist doctrine." "As an ideology, meantime, communism is not dead, it finds itself, however, going through a long and painful agony... we are witnessing the final convulsions of one ideology.... Marxism and, in particular, Marxism-Leninism do not fit into a modern society at the end of the 20th century."

Similar statements, made by professional anti- communists, have, it is true, their own specific coloring and their own propaganda purpose. People of the Brzezinski type know very well that the deliberate manipulation of public opinion can have, in some situations, a greater significance than the captivating strength of the dollar. Socialism is undergoing a difficult test and is seeking new methods for its further development—those, who are coming to hasty conclusions about its eclipse from the difficulties which it is now experiencing, difficulties which are indeed not negligible, just prove how strong their desire is, a desire which is the father of their thoughts. However, it would be dangerous to ignore their opinions. They are resolved to help the implied, and, by them, the so volubly declared "agony of communism." Zb. Brzezinski offers an immediate receipt for such help: "The creation of a more pluralistic democracy." "The West must crystallize its own efforts in order to facilitate the course of present changes in Poland and Hungary. Until now similar changes have never been successful. Now it is possible to create a precedent."

In reply to a question on whether the formation of a united Western front is envisaged, a front which would implement a "common strategy" toward Eastern Europe, he replies: "A united front is, perhaps, too strong an expression (notice he does not deny it but he does not want to say it out loud). I am, however, in favor of Japan, the United States, and Western Europe forming a consortium which would assess the crisis that will soon engulf these societies (he had in mind the socialist countries). From the longer-term point of view, it is necessary to establish a framework to support the general (!) conversion of these regimes into economically and politically pluralist regimes."

This speech, no matter how cautious, does not require any clue in order to decipher its meaning. This is the distinct speech of our class enemy. For him the new political thinking is a new opportunity to effectively influence the subversion of the socialist world which he regards as being a "mistake of history," just like R. Reagan, H. Kissinger, and other representatives of the "free world." For them "Western values" are "global" in the sense that they are mandatory for everyone. They will never understand that someone might not recognize them. On the basis of these values, they want to implement their own hegemony which they talk about quite openly.

It is only necessary to add that in the case of Poland and Hungary the "international consortium" has already begun operating. The first handouts have already been approved. With a cynical and unconcealed justification: Not to permit the economic problems of those countries, which are to serve as the models for reform and be the inspirational example for other socialist countries (Czechoslovakia is next in line), to threaten such hopeful development. Intimidation by "conservative forces", especially after events in the People's Republic of China, is only an element of this strategy.

The attempt to use restructuring—the necessity for fundamental changes in the countries of our community—to destroy the socialist social system and to gradually amalgamate these countries in a non-violent manner into the sphere of imperialism is obvious. It would be extremely dangerous to close our eyes to this fact and to pretend that we can ignore it or even in some way assist this attempt. However, it would be no less dangerous and no less imprudent to allow this offensive by unfriendly forces to get on the march and condemn the program for the renewal of socialism in its Leninist principles.

For us restructuring is not a short-term opportunistic matter. Nor are we reducing it, as they reproach us, to changes in the economy. Nevertheless, as Marxists, we know that there is a dialectic connection and a dialectic unity between the economy and policy. Policy, stressed Lenin, cannot not have primacy over the economy. He regarded this idea as the rudiments of Marxism. And in the same way he pointed out that policy is a condensed expression of the economy. It should not dictate anything to the economy that is at variance with its laws. However, we are neither considering the liquidation of the economic system of socialism nor are we thinking about a return to a political system of the bourgeois type of parliamentarianism. In no way are we thinking about the party's resignation. This would be a bitter betrayal of the working class and of the working people. This would be a derision of the sacrifices which our people made for the construction of socialism. The party will fulfill its mission by being at the forefront of the people's endeavor to build a classless and socially just society, a society of liberated labor and of real humanity.

Of course, here, along with restructuring, there appears a new and very important element. This is the stress which is placed on the responsibility of each party and country for their own fate.

In light of the place which we occupy in Europe, the size of our country, the nature of its economy, and of its marked dependence and openness, we are extraordinarily sensitive to everything that is taking place around us. We have exposed ourselves to external influences so much that we have become used to seeing in them a factor which determines our development. This has an objective basis. However, a consequence of this is the specific passive position which we occupy and the expectation and reliance that others will often resolve many things for us, things which concern our fate.

It is high time for us to realize that this habit becomes dangerous for the future, that we must overcome it, and that we must actively react, with an awareness of our own responsibility for our future, to events which are happening around us and in overall world development .

The fact that we are an element of the socialist community does not entitle us to any form of passivity. Scientific socialism has a general validity; however, each party must implement it in harmony with the specific historical conditions in which its construction must take place. In accordance with this, each party is duty bound to choose its own forms of activity, no matter how predetermined. The party can explain many things by the determinism of external circumstances and influences. However, the responsibility for one's own decisions cannot be foisted on anyone from outside.

We have spontaneously welcomed the CPSU's new course. For us, it was also an important stimulus toward serious consideration of our own further path. In the spirit of this course, we decided to make the changes which we have just begun to implement and we will continue to consistently assert them. We can state justifiably that what is essential for them, what is intrinsic to them, is common to us all. Today it is an absolute anachronism to guide society by the methods of directive and administrative centralism. We are aware of the fact that in managing socialist society subjectivism and voluntarism, typical of the "personality cult" period with its deformations of socialism, have no place. That the economy must be consistently converted to an intensive type of development has already been discussed. It is necessary to organically link socialism with convincing democratism, respect for the man of labor and for the realistic administration and management of one's country, and also with prominent economic rationality and respect for economic laws.

Restructuring forces us to confront with Leninist principles the practice of socialist construction so far. And in this very connection, which has a fundamental importance, it is necessary to say that we should stand tall. In many ways, we have no reason to characterize our society in the same way, for example, as our Soviet comrades characterize their society. In our country we are also placing tasks which do not exist for others at the forefront. There is another side to this. Happily, we already have many of these tasks behind us.

We should turn more often to our own history. I have the pre-revolutionary period in mind. In evaluating this period we must overcome all the remnants of sectarianism and simplified approaches which see everything in black and white. In this way, we will learn to appreciate the differences and specifics which we have unnecessarily neglected. And, thus, we will also be better prepared to face non-class based and ahistorical views which are being implemented more and more in today's evaluation of the past.

Nothing could so much harm the common issue of progressive change, which the present stage of international development is placing on the agenda, as the dogmatic and uncreative approach to the new tasks as well as the mechanical transfer of the forms and methods for implementing restructuring and reforms which are taking place in some of the countries that are passed off as "models" for the rest.

Those who are advising us to do this or who are forcing us into this are, obviously, following their own interests. Perhaps, some of them think that by this they will win their place in the sun. If we look at them more closely we will see that they are people who, as a rule, compromised the party and socialism in the past by that very opportunism and time-serving attitude and by that same disguised "enthusiasm" for the things which now they are so volubly condemning. The party is entering into too complicated a struggle for it to allow itself to depend on these people. It would barely be able to successfully undergo the tests, which await it, with such people.

Restructuring requires strong and high-principled cadres which are experienced and steeled with communist conviction, capable of reacting to new phenomena and demands in life, cadres who, however, do not change depending on which way the wind is blowing. It requires disciplined and responsible people whose firmness of opinion and resolve to carry out selfless work are shown by their morality and honest deliberation about everything that is happening in the party and in society, by their creative attitude toward revolutionary theory, by their ability to use it not to declare and demonstrate their positions but as a guide to the practice of and struggle for society's transformation.

These requirements for cadre profiles also determine the duties of your college and the tasks which the college faces are specified by them. I do not think that I should mention these in particular, you already know them very well.

However, I would like to talk about one thing: This involves the fundamental direction of studies at the college. I think that studies should be mainly directed toward understanding the party's present tasks and responsibilities which it has today as the avant guard of

the working class and the people. This a responsibility for the success of restructuring, for the consistent implementation of the changes which are essential if socialism is to be further developed in our country, if society is to be constantly developed, if people's growing needs are to be satisfied, and if Czechoslovakia is to keep pace with world development.

If it is capable of essential development, if it overcomes the methods and forms of work that conform to administrative and directive management, and if it takes up political methods to lead society, the party will be able to fulfill its mission in the future .

For this reason, the party's ideological work must also be fully appreciated and properly developed. We discussed this at the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session in October last year. We said that even this work must undergo profound restructuring.

Firstly, we must depend on the firm foundations of our revolutionary theory. As long as it develops and as long as it manages to react to new realities it gives our performance the certainty and decisiveness which today we particularly need. It is necessary to keep sight of the aims which we are struggling for. Even in the most complicated moments we must not lose faith that they will be realized. After all, the ideals of socialism and communism are not a doctrine dictated by history and they are not a utopian vision, but they are a scientifically justified strategy drawn from history and from the struggles man has been conducting since time immemorial in order that he might live. To quote Karl Marx, these ideals are in harmony "with their human substance"—just and free, with certain restrictions that protect man's rights and freedoms. It is highly paradoxical if we are lectured on respecting these values by a world that must inevitably collapse, if these values begin to be genuinely and universally implemented.

Second, throughout our ideological work we must place emphasis on personal contact with people. Associating the party with the people and strengthening their trust in the party's policy envisages offensive and everyday mass political work and lively, attractive, and convincing propaganda and agitation which reckon with the concrete man and which knows his interests and needs. It is necessary to remove stereotypes and empty phrases from this work. Not only do these not have a positive effect but they arouse suspicions of insincerity and the feeling that we do not want to resolve the problems which people are experiencing and that we want to conceal them.

With democratization and with the implementation of an open policy and the free flow of public information (the Leninist principle of "glasnost"), we cannot avoid ideological clashes. Neither do we have to fear them. We have clear consciences. The substance of our policy is the defense of the interests of the working man and efforts to satisfy his material and spiritual needs. Among these needs, are those that are connected with the development of socialist democracy and with civic life. The ability to carry out a matter-of-fact dialogue which respects the interests of the other person and is supported by convincing arguments is a requirement which we must highlight today and place before each communist, especially those who carry out their work in the ideological field.

The restructuring of ideological work will certainly require changes to the forms and methods that have been practiced to date, the better utilization of modern resources, and the results of science, particularly surveys of public opinion, which must become a lasting element of our work. This, however, is the commonplace consequence of the direction of the substance of this work and its orientation toward the issues that affect society.

While approaching restructuring, we think about the future and about what the past has brought it. Communism, as Lenin stressed, is tied with everything great and progressive from the past. Communists must adopt all the educational and spiritual values that have been created in the course of human development. Only such an attitude to the past, Comrades, gives us a right to the future. No kind of automatic development, as is sometimes naively believed, applies here. It is not a matter of course that progress will assert itself on the basis of abstract "iron" laws. It must be fought for and won. And only those who attach themselves to the values of the past can fight for progress; they will be successful in developing it and will not lose their power of resistance in the struggle with the difficulties which the future will bring.

No hothouses exist in which this power of resistance can be cultivated or in which it would be possible to learn about overcoming the future. However, we should be well aware of one thing: It is essential to finally get away from the practice of demanding an explanation for all questions beforehand and of getting upset when this is denied to us. We must learn more from history—in order that it is obvious to everyone that nothing is acquired for free, without sacrifices and extraordinary effort. The generation is still living which experienced the time of fascist subjugation and the postwar advance toward socialist construction. Our present day rose out of this experience. Its foundations depend on this unique historical experience. We must not allow these foundations to be doubted and destroyed. We should provide the next generation with a decisive orientation for life. The time and truth have arrived with new demands and new tasks. It will be possible to come to terms with them only if we look forward and if we use the experiences of past generations to the full.

Environmentalists Oppose Tourism Project

AU0409150489

[Editorial report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 2 September carries on page 3 a 1,100-word Miroslav Xeman article entitled "The Low Tatra Cries Dollar Tears; World Appeal at Any Price?" The article deals with environmentalists' objections to the plan of the "Intertour Bratislava" joint stock company to build a

large summer and winter resort in the Low Tatra. According to Xeman, the Bratislava organization has commissioned a study from the French "Les Arcs" company, which recommended the construction of a large all-year sport resort in the Low Tatra, involving, among other things, the construction of luxury hotel facilities with 11,000 beds, tennis courts, a large golf course, and more than 40 ski lifts. According to the French experts' calculations, the CSSR would have an annual income of $100 million from the resort.

In his article, Xeman cites various studies and letters, in which Czechoslovak environmentalists, including "our leading experts," warn that the construction of such a "giant resort" would "mean the end to all values of nature in this beautiful corner of our homeland," that the construction of new downhill slopes would cause "catastrophic soil erosion on the deforested slopes of the Chopok mountain," and that the available water resources could not cope with such a radical increase in the number of visitors. The environmentalists quoted by Xeman also complain that Intertour failed to consult "the competent scientific establishments" on the ecological impact of the project.

Xeman also takes exception to the fact that Intertour's feasibility study foresees a drop in domestic visitors to the Low Tatra, who would be deterred by high prices. Besides being "ecologically dangerous," Intertour plans are thus also "inconsistent with our social policy," he says. In conclusion, Xeman expresses the hope that "common sense will prevail over the vision of dollars" and that Intertour's plans will not be realized.

Impact of Pollution on Health Discussed

AU0809093589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 89 p 2

[CTK report: "On the Environment in North Bohemia"]

[Excerpts] Most—The 2-day external session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Commission for the Creation and Protection of the Environment continued in Most on Tuesday [5 September]. Headed by its chairman, CPCZ Central Committee Secretary Frantisek Hanus, the commission familiarized itself with the present state of environment in the North Bohemian region.

While North Bohemia is the smallest CSSR region by area, it accounts for 38 percent of the entire state's production of electricity and for almost 90 percent of coal output. Together with the concentration of industry in the region, this presents negative consequences for the environment. This problem is particularly acute in the coal mining areas, where it has become the target of severe criticism by the population and a source of discontent. The solution of this problem remains the key factor to an improvement in people's living conditions, including the stabilization of manpower.

In this context, the necessity was emphasized of carrying out adjustments to the sources of pollution. Of crucial significance in this regard are, in particular, the construction of desulfurization units at the Tusimice II and Pocerady power stations and conversion to gas.

Members of the commission spoke frankly and critically about trends in the state of health of the population. Cardiovascular diseases, for instance, account for 56 percent of all deaths in the North Bohemian region. In all comparable indicators, the death rate is higher than in the Czech Socialist Republic as a whole. The median length of life is shorter than in the CSSR as a whole—by 9 months for men and by 15 months for women. According to Jaroslav Prokopec, minister of health and social affairs of the Czech Socialist Republic, one of the keys to extending the median length of life is improved health care for mothers and newborns, especially in terms of the material and technical equipment of health care establishments. [passage omitted]

At the close of their session, members of the commission familiarized themselves with the course of construction of desulfurization equipment in Tusimice and with the problems continuously accompanying this major ecological investment project.

During their external session in North Bohemia, members of the commission acquired specific knowledge about the current ecological situation in this industrial conurbation. Their personal experience will be a valuable contribution to the preparation of the 15th session of the CPCZ Central Committee.

CPCZ Presidium Discusses Enviromental Problems

LD0709213189 Prague CTK in English 1806 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 7 (CTK)—The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee dealt at its session here today with problems of the creation and protection of the environment which will be discussed by the 15th session of the Party Central Committee which will be held October 11-12.

The Presidium decided that a delegation, led by Presidium member and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart, will attend the celebrations marking the 40th anniversary of the foundation of the German Democratic Republic.

It also discussed the preparations for a consultative meeting with leading secretaries of the regional, municipal and district party committees and for the 132nd session of the CMEA Executive Committee.

Government Discusses Economic Bills, Law

LD0709162489 Prague CTK in English 1237 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Prague Sept 7 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government discussed at its session today four bills which will be

submitted to the Federal Assembly and represent a fundamental step towards restructuring the country's economic mechanism as of January L. [as received] 1990.

Under the bill on payments to the State Budget, these payments will be an instrument on the one hand defining the scope for self- financing and entrepreneurial activities of enterprises and on the other laying down the duty of payments to the budget for meeting needs of the whole society.

A bill on income tax and on amendments to the laws on agricultural tax and on conditions of activities of enterprises with foreign participation creates conditions for the self-financing of enterprises controlled by national committees, and of other economic organizations.

A bill on foreign exchange creates conditions for a more effective integration of the Czechoslovak economy in the international division of labour, for the stability of the purchasing power of the Czechoslovak currency and a balanced payments balance. The principle of self-financing in this sphere will entitle enterprises, after fulfilling their commitments to the central source of foreign exchange, to use their remaining foreign exchange to promote their own activities.

The law on banks and savings banks proceeds from the need to divide credit and commercial activities from issuing activities.

The government was informed of the state of work on drafting the 1990 State Plan, of the course of the 2nd round of talks on conventional weapons and of the talks on confidence- and security- building measures in Europe. It also was briefed on the results of the visit here by Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca.

Official Statistics Distrusted, 'Inadequate'

AU0809084089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Sep 89 p 3

[Statement by Doctor Jaroslav Brendejsky, chairman of the committee of a street party organization in Prague-4, in the "Discussion Tribune" column: "Mirror of Economic Development"]

[Text] Having read the excerpts from the reports of the Federal Statistical Office and of the Czech and Slovak statistical offices on the fulfillment of the national economic plan for the first half of this year, which were published in the daily press in the second half of July, I cannot get rid of the impression that the data that had been selected from these reports (RUDE PRAVO actually published the full wording of the report of the Federal Statistical Office, while the reports of the Czech and Slovak Statistical Offices appeared in RUDE PRAVO in abridged form—editor's note) do not provide a quite objective picture about the development of our economy. After Comrade Adamec's speech at the last Federal Assembly session and after the deputies' frank and critical discussion, we expected that the reports of the statistical bodies would not be published only in the form of some figures—figures, moreover, which are not always fortunately selected—but that a more detailed analysis of the lingering shortcomings would be published as well. That which has been published so far, including in RUDE PRAVO, is not too convincing. It is perhaps motivated by the endeavor to show the situation in a better light than it actually is. Such incomplete information inevitably arouses our citizens' distrust, all the more so as the reports state that living costs have increased in the first half of the year, without providing any serious explanation of this matter and, above all, without demonstrating by concrete examples that the situation is changing for the better.

The incomplete and inadequate data on the fulfillment of the state plan are not in accord with the continuously stressed policy of keeping the general public informed. It is needless to say what problems insufficient and unsuitable information creates for us, functionaries of street organizations, in our political work among citizens. It would be of great help in our political work if RUDE PRAVO, in particular, carried truly reliable information on the development of our economy, information which does not obfuscate the true state of affairs, and if, at the same time, by giving as concrete examples as possible of a correct understanding of the meaning of our restructuring, it contributed to our citizens' optimistic view of the near future. Only then shall we be able to effectively resist the objections raised by the increasingly active anti-party groups that we keep clinging to half-truths, which are not far removed from what Soviet comrades so aptly call "ochkovtiratelstvo." [eyewash; Russian term used]

'Illegal Residence' Position Emphasized to FRG

LD0809091589 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 0700 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] The head of the GDR's Permanent Representation in the FRG, Ambassador Horst Neubauer, has emphasized to the head of the Federal Chancellor's Office, Rudolf Seiters, his government's position on the illegal residence of GDR citizens in FRG diplomatic representations. Any FRG responsibility for GDR citizens is contrary to international law. Bonn should at last regain some kind of political realism and respect for mutual interests. In the GDR Foreign Ministry in Berlin, Ambassador Hans Schindler received the head of the FRG Permanent Representation, Dr Franz Bertele. The latter reported that assurances by the GDR were being given those GDR citizens in the Representations. The FRG intended to advise the GDR citizens to leave the Representations and return home.

Citizens Leave FRG Mission

LD0809142589 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] The GDR citizens who were staying in the FRG Permanent Representation in Berlin, according to ADN, have left the diplomatic establishment of their own free will. They are returning to their homes. Thus reason has gained the upper hand, ADN stresses.

Schabowski Hits 'Slander' by FRG Media

LD0709175989 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1700 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] According to SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Politburo member Guenter Schabowski, economic and social policy in the GDR is ensured by the great efforts of the workers. At an aktiv meeting in Berlin today the politician said that the pace of advance in the Republic is determined by such technologies as the 32-bit microprocessor and the 1-megabit memory circuit. Continuity and change were current and permanent features of social development in the GDR. The speaker referred to the unbridled campaign of slander against the GDR undertaken by the FRG media with the support of politicians of all shades of opinion from the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] to the neo-Nazis. Schabowski said that the motive was the attempt to remove the most important issue for the European continent, peace and disarmament, from the political agenda. But the GDR would not let itself be driven by this away from its principled policy of dialogue. Instead of arrogantly interfering in the internal affairs of another sovereign state, FRG politicians should examine and get rid of lapses of responsibility within their own four walls. Their citizens were asking where the FRG's concrete contribution to disarmament was to be found.

Money Reportedly Demanded for Refugees

AU0809104189 Vienna NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG in German 8 Sep 89 p 2

[Kurt Seinitz "exclusive" report: "GDR Wants to Blackmail Bonn Into Paying High Head-Money for Refugees in Hungary!"]

[Excerpt] Budapest/Vienna—Scandalous facts about the delayed departure of the more than 6,000 GDR refugees from Hungary have now become known: As NEUE KRONEN-ZEITUNG learned from competent sources in Budapest, the GDR is pursuing a strategy of blackmail for the "man trade of the century"! Bonn is supposed to pay high head money for every refugee.

At the moment, the activities behind the scenes remind one of a bazaar. The GDR wants DM10,000 per person and refers to Bonn's practice of paying a ransom in buying off prisoners from GDR prisons and to the head money paid by Bonn to Romania's dictator, Ceausescu, for the ethnic German Romanians.

Through East bloc pressure, Hungary has been forced to delay the departure of the GDR refugees so that the GDR gains time to make Bonn pay. Only with great reluctance is Budapest following the trading strategy of "freedom for money" [passage omitted]

At Least 40 People Arrested in Alexanderplatz

LD0709170789 Hamburg DPA in German 1630 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—GDR security forces today prevented a protest action by GDR citizens in Alexanderplatz against alleged election fraud in the 7 May local elections and arrested at least 40 people. Western correspondents accredited to East Berlin were prevented from going any further and were told to leave the square.

The large contingent of uniformed People's Police and members of the State Security Service used force to make the arrests, according to unanimous reports by observers. Young people were forcibly removed with the police holding them by their arms and legs.

Police Bar Journalists

LD0709163989 Hamburg DPA in German 1556 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR People's Police have today barred access to Alexanderplatz in East Berlin to Western correspondents accredited to the GDR, and prevented them from going any further. "The whole of Alexanderplatz is closed off to journalists," a policeman said while checking personal documents, explaining that there was "a search operation for people." The People's Police said that the GDR Foreign Ministry had informed the relevant editorial offices about the measure.

When asked about this the ministry stated that no information of this nature had been conveyed to the media representatives. The matter concerned a "measure taken by the People's Police. We have nothing to do with it."

A large number of security personnel were present in Alexanderplatz, as well as numerous tourists and citizens. Media representatives were told by security forces that they would have to "expect measures" if they did not leave the area, the site of numerous restaurants, shops and the Centrum department store.

The large number of security personnel may be expecting a demonstration by dissatisfied GDR citizens. In July there were numerous arrests in the square in connection with a protest action about alleged election fraud in the 7 May local GDR elections. GDR security forces hindered a ZDF [Second German Television] team filming in the square.

Activists Say SED 'Discredited' Socialism

AU0609121789 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 1100 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] The members of the Ecology Library in the East Berlin Zion parish have demanded a broad alliance of all democrats in the GDR. In a declaration that became known today, they say that the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] has totally discredited the idea of socialism among the people and is facing political and economic bankruptcy. They add that tutelage of the GDR citizens for decades and the authorities' rigid information policy have in particular contributed to the current wave of refugees via Hungary.

Beil Holds Reception at Start of Autumn Fair

AU0709081189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4 Sep 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Traditional Reception at Leipzig Fair"]

[Text] Leipzig (ADN)—At the conclusion of the first day of the Leipzig Fair on Sunday evening [3 September], GDR Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil invited representatives of industry and trade from all over the world to a festive reception in the New Town Hall. They held lively talks with the members and candidate members of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, Guenter Mittag, and Gerhard Schuerer as well as other personages of the republic's social life.

In a toast at the beginning of the evening, Gerhard Beil said that these days of the fair are particularly useful to draw up a balance sheet of the achievements, to increase them in a meaningful way, and to tackle new projects for the welfare of the peoples. The wish expressed 40 years ago at the Autumn Fair in the year of the founding of the GDR, namely, that the Leipzig fair may contribute to consolidating peace and, under its banner, help to develop and promote trade between the peoples and mutual understanding, has been completely fulfilled over the past years. "Together with the growing international reputation of the GDR and the capacity of its economy, the fair has developed to its present significance as a first-rank venue for world trade," the foreign trade minister stated. "On the firm foundation of the GDR's successful development, the fair can be sure of a good future."

The reception offered varied opportunities for an exchange of views on the further expansion of trade and on prospects of economic and scientific-technological cooperation. Guenter Mittag held talks with the members of the USSR Government delegation, which is headed by Nikolay Laverov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology. He also had an exchange of views with Petko Danchev, candidate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and deputy chairman of the Bulgarian Council of Ministers; Willy Claes, deputy premier and economic affairs minister of Belgium; Claudio Lenoci, state secretary in the Italian Foreign Ministry; and Lorenzo Olarte Cullen, regional president of the Canary Islands.

Guests of the evening also were Horst Schmid, retired minister and general representative for trade and tourism of the provincial government of Alberta (Canada); Alejandro Roca Iglesias, minister of food industry of Cuba; Senas John Ukpanah, minister of trade of Nigeria; Dieter von Wuertzen, state secretary in the FRG Economics Ministry; Kostandin Hoxha, deputy foreign trade minister of Albania; Getachew Desta, deputy foreign trade minister of Ethiopia; Stanislaw Amanowicz, deputy minister of foreign economic cooperation of the People's Republic of Poland; Violeta Caldaruse; deputy minister of machine building industry of Romania; and Piroska Apro, deputy minister in the Hungarian Trade Ministry. Furthermore, Markus Lyra, deputy department head in the Foreign Ministry of Finland and chairman of the Finland-GDR Joint Commission; Heinz Weseloh, first chairman of the FRG-GDR Trade Association; Franz Roesch, head of the Trusteeship Authority for Industry and Trade, FRG; and Peter Mitzscherling, economics senator of Berlin (West).

Trade Agreements Signed

AU0809074189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Sep 89 p 1

[ND report: "Significant Export and Import Agreements Signed"]

[Text] Leipzig—On the second day of this year's Leipzig Autumn Fair, trade was also characterized by busy activity. GDR foreign trade enterprises and partners from a number of countries again signed numerous

significant export and import agreements. Several agreements serve the continuation of long-term cooperative relations with the USSR and other socialist countries.

The VEB Carl Zeiss Jena Combine and the Soviet Vneshtechnika All-Union Association, at the order of Glavkosmos, concluded a comprehensive agreement on extensive supplies of space technology equipment for the 1990-93 period. The most important item is the ASTRO 1 optoelectronic measuring and testing device, which is used in unmanned satellites for the orientation of spacecraft for remote sensing of the earth from space. With this agreement, the combine is continuing the traditional and successful development which was initiated by the use of the multispectral camera in 1976.

Agreements on reciprocal supplies for 1990 to the tune of approximately R45 million were signed by the directors general of two foreign trade enterprises, WMW Export-Import and Stankoimport, the Technical Center of the USSR Foreign Trade Association. Supplies to the USSR mainly consist of CNC-controlled [CNC-besteuert] machining centers, gear-cutting machines, and jet molding machines for the production of consumer goods. The GDR receives, among other things, CNC-controlled machine tools, which have been designed and produced by experts of both countries for the special needs of certain users.

The Germed foreign trade enterprise concluded an agreement with the Soviet Medexport enterprise on the supply of pharmaceuticals for humans worth more than 120 million rubles. In 1990 the GDR will also import pharmaceuticals from Hungary and the CSSR. The CSSR will further supply serums for veterinary medicine. Human serums will be imported from the FRG as well.

A long-term agreement between GDR foreign trade enterprises and the Salzgitter AG company (FRG) established the further intensification of relations by extending the current supplies and deliveries, as well as by tapping new fields of scientific cooperation. After the agreement was signed, Ernst Pieper, chairman of the board of directors of Salzgitter AG, praised the successful development of relations between the Salzgitter concern and combines and foreign trade enterprises in the GDR during the past few years, and said that he was convinced that the implementation of the new agreement will help to increase the quality of cooperation.

As a continuation of the business relations which have existed since 1976 between the Interpelz foreign trade enterprise and the Salamander AG company from the FRG, an agreement was signed that continues to permit the production of shoes under the Salamander trademark for the period up to 1995. It also permits the further production of preservatives for shoes and leather, which are produced in the VEB PCK in Schwedt, and of the household glue "Saladur."

UNITED MACHINERY GROUP LTD. of Leicester (Great Britain), the Textima Export-Import foreign trade enterprise, and the Weissenfels Shoe Combine signed an agreement on industrial cooperation. They agreed on cooperation in the planning, supply, assembly, and opening of entire shoe factories, as well as in the production and distribution of shoe production machines, construction elements, spare parts, and servicing. They will build complete shoe factories for third countries.

The Industrial Plants Import foreign trade enterprise concluded an after-sales service agreement for the Contronic P process control unit. Next year, the GDR will supply diesel generators and wire-drawing and wire-stranding machines to Indonesia.

SED Sends Greetings to U.S. Communists

AU0509140089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Sep 89 p 2

[ND report: "Solidarity With the U.S. Communists"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] has sent the following greetings telegram to the Central Committee of the Communist Party USA [CPUSA] in New York:

Dear Comrades,

The SED Central Committee conveys fraternal militant greetings and cordial congratulations to all members of your party on the 70th anniversary of the founding of the CPUSA.

In the 7 decades of its existence, the CPUSA has always proved to be a consistent advocate of the vital interests of the American people.

The SED appreciates the close fraternal relations with the CPUSA, which are deeply rooted in history and based on joint militant traditions and objectives. Side by side with all peace-loving forces, our parties are struggling for an end to the arms race, for disarmament and detente, in order to save the present and the next generations from the danger of a nuclear conflagration in the world. In this struggle we regard the further successful development of the GDR, which is a stable factor of peace and socialism in Europe in the 40th year of its existence, as our most important international responsibility.

We wish the American Communists much success in strengthening their party and assure you of our firm solidarity.

With Communist greetings,

SED Central Committee

E. Honecker,

General secretary.

Honecker Congratulates Vietnamese Leaders

AU0609135589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 Sep 89 p 2

[ND report: "Fraternal Greetings From the GDR to the Vietnamese People"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber, have addressed the following telegram to Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV]; Vo Chi Cong, chairman of the SRV Council of State; Do Muoi, chairman of the SRV Council of Ministers; and Le Quang Dao, chairman of the SRV National Assembly:

Esteemed Comrades,

On the occasion of the 44th anniversary of the founding of the SRV, we convey to you, the CPV Central Committee, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers, the National Assembly, and the fraternal Vietnamese people most cordial congratulations and fraternal greetings from the SED Central Committee, the State Council, the Council of Ministers, the People's Chamber, and the GDR people.

Full of sympathy, the GDR people are following the successful advance of the fraternal Vietnamese people, under the leadership of its Communist Party, who make great efforts to solve the complicated problems in the transition period to socialism.

The GDR appreciates the SRV's active contribution to transforming Southeast Asia into a nuclear-free zone and a zone of peace, stability, friendship, and cooperation. It welcomes the constructive Vietnamese policy to solve the Cambodia problem and to normalize relations with the PRC.

Firmly convinced that the relations of friendship and cooperation and the solidarity between the GDR and SRV will continue to develop to mutual benefit on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, proletarian internationalism, and the treaty on friendship and cooperation, we wish the Vietnamese fraternal people further successes in implementing the decisions of the Sixth CPV Congress.

We wish you, esteemed comrades, good health and well-being in your responsible activities for the benefit of the Vietnamese people and for peace.

Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Willi Stoph,

Chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers;

Horst Sindermann,

President of the GDR People's Chamber.

Honecker Sends Greetings to Al-Qadhdhafi

AU0509174489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Sep 89 p 2

[ND report: "Congratulations From GDR to Libya on National Day: Erich Honecker to Colonel Mu'ammar Al-Qadhdhafi"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, has addressed the following telegram to Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdahfi, leader of the Libyan Revolution of 1 September, in Tripoli:

I convey to you and the friendly Libyan people cordial greetings on behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the GDR people.

The Libyan people's achievements for economic and social development in the past 2 decades are highly appreciated in the GDR.

I express my conviction that the various relations between the GDR and the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, which are at the same time an effective contribution to international understanding and peace in the world, will develop and deepen to mutual benefit.

Accept my best wishes for your health and creative vigor in your responsible activity.

Erich Honecker,

General secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

On the same occasion, Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, conveyed cordial congratulations to Omar al-Muntassir [spelling as published], secretary of the General People's Committee of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah.

College Rector Defends Socialist System

AU3108145489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Aug 89 p 3

[Article by Kurt Tiedke, rector of the "Karl Marx" Party College, "based on a lecture before civics teachers at the 'Karl Marx' Party College attacked to the SED Central Committee": "The New Epoch on German Soil"]

[Excerpts] The founding and development of the GDR are the result and part of a revolutionary process which characterizes the 20th century. Socialism has irrevocably taken root on German soil. Over the past 4 decades a basic turnaround has taken place, a profound historical

change. Under the leadership of the party of the workers class and by creatively applying Marxist theory, the socialist German worker-peasant state has developed, has become a reliable and efficient partner of the fraternal peoples and has gained worldwide recognition because of its consistent anti-fascism and its active peace policy.

Our Course Is Entirely Dedicated to the Interests of the People [subhead]

The positive balance sheet which we can draw up in the 40th year of the GDR's existence despite all the problems that still exist, in particular the important results of the economic and social policy, permit a general statement on the eve of the 12th party congress: The path toward socialism which we embarked upon 40 years ago has proved correct. There is no way back to the capitalist society of injustice and there will never be such a way back. Nothing, but really nothing at all, speaks in favor of a change of course, that is, of the need to deviate from our programmatic goals, from our view of socialism, from our policy, which is entirely aimed at the welfare of our people. There is truly no useful alternative to this policy.

We are a party which has clearly outlined the goal of its work in line with the laws of the epoch and also knows how to fulfill the tasks it has set for itself. Of course, such a policy will never meet with the approval of those to the west of our border, who pretend to be enthusiastic about reforms but, in reality, have always brutally suppressed any revolutionary uprising and progressive change. This was shown by the crushing of the German November Revolution after World War I, the prevention of the anti-fascist-democratic changes in the FRG after World War II, the restoration of capitalist conditions of power and ownership while neglecting the people's right to self-determination. Even the obligation contained in the Potsdam Agreement, namely to completely eradicate fascism, has not been fulfilled in any way. Facts remain facts. And these facts prove that the German bourgeoisie has never, in all its history, been in favor of real changes and revolutionary upheavals.

This is different on the territory of the GDR. Here our party is steering a course which is fully dedicated to the interests of the people. As Erich Honecker said at the seventh Central Committee meeting, this "shows more and more clearly the meaning of socialism—the welfare of the people by eliminating the exploitation of man by man, the development of all of the people's talents and skills, and their active participation in all questions of social development." (Footnote 1) ("Solving the Tasks of the Present With a View to the 12th Party Congress." From the Report of the Politburo to the Seventh SED Central Committee Session, 1-2 December 1988. Rapporteur: Erich Honecker" Dietz Verlag Berlin 1988, p 91) This course which can be understood by everyone means a dynamic economic growth, social security and equal opportunities for all, the development of the socialist democracy, the implementation of the human rights, and the determined defense of world peace. This is the goal aimed at by all political, economic, and cultural changes, which we are making and will make in the future.

On the Recommendation of Programs, Which Have Not Led to Socialism Anywhere [subhead]

Why, in view of this, should we be in favor of a "socialism" that takes over all basic evils of capitalism? "New thinking" cannot consist in copying bourgeois policy or in copying social democratic programs which have not led to socialism anywhere. Let us just remember the Ahlen economic program of the FRG's Christian Democratic Union or the concept of "democratic socialism" of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. They all led exactly to what their authors actually wanted—the consolidation of monopolistic capital, a state which was established in the spirit of anti-communism and also developed in such a way. And in this state neo-Nazis are now increasingly entering the parliaments. This justifiably alarms the peoples since they have had their terrible experiences with this Schoenhuber and company.

We adhere to a policy which aims to further develop the human face of socialism. We have a clear social concept for this. Its core is the unity of economic and social policy. It is the firm foundation for the deep relationship of trust between the party and the people and thus also for the political stability of the GDR. The fact that our republic is a firm bulwark of socialism at the borderline between the two opposing social systems in a stormy time and keeps unerringly shaping the developed socialist society makes the rulers in imperialist Germany practically furious. [passage omitted]

Because we are concerned about the welfare and the happiness of all working people we do not need any "social market economy," nor some sort of change and also not some sort of reform, but the comprehensive development of our society, which is completely geared to the interests of the people. This is why we will continue to stick to tested things but get rid of everything that hinders progress and we will tackle new tasks prudently and boldly. We need continuity and renewal. Continuity mainly affects our strategic goal, and we will renew everything that is necessary in order to reach this goal step by step.

Thus, our party will remain what it has been since its founding: a party of innovators with firm principles, a party of the workers class and of the entire people. [passage omitted]

Now, if lately people have again turned up who claim to know precisely that socialism has finally and ultimately failed and that, therefore, there is also no "epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism" this is, as usual, wishful thinking. This also reminds us of the "predictions" of those who wrote in the RUHRNACHRICHTEN, then the paper of the industrialists on the Ruhr, on the occasion of the founding of the GDR: "The so-called

GDR ... will not live to see, not to speak of survive, the year 1950." They gave us not even 3 months. Soon the GDR will have existed for 480 months. Indeed, the rate of imperialist errors concerning the existence and development of socialism is extremely high.

The renewed "killing of Marx" is fashionable again. "Now," the bourgeois FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE wrote on its first page on 9 March 1989, "since some communist parties are tearing down the basic walls of Marxist teaching, Marx's historical materialism with its social development determinism should be formally buried in the course of an overall attack." (Footnote 2) (FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 9 March 1989, p 1) One has to bring down this teaching in order to have the entire building cave in. Obviously the Hitlerite fascists were not the last ones to boastfully promise the monopolistic bourgeoisie that they would "put Marxism on the trash heap of history." [passage omitted]

Concerning capitalism, at the threshold of the last decade of the 20th century it becomes ever more visible that this social system is not able to solve the problems of mankind's existence and that the imperialist profit economy is the main reason for the hunger, poverty, and the terrible misery as well as for political and intellectual oppression of a very considerable part of mankind. Only recently Fidel Castro made the very illustrative comparison between the victims of the imperialist strategy of hunger and the victims of the first use of nuclear bombs by U.S. imperialism, that is, by the same forces. "Every 3 days 120,000 children are dying in the world. This means that every 3 days as many children die as people died during the bomb attack on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This means, that every year 120 nuclear bombs like the ones of Hiroshima and Nagasaki explode for the children of the world." (Footnote 3) (NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6 April 1989, p 3). This is a terrible balance sheet.

This shows that the capitalist social system is not first and foremost a more or less well-functioning consumer goods store (even though we do not underestimate this), but, above all, a social system that is based on the exploitation of man by man. After all, 40,000 children are dying every day in those countries that are being massively and mercilessly plundered by the main imperialist countries. However, why do the imperialist mass media not pillory this, why is their rage not fanned by the reasons for this general problem of mankind? The killing of 40,000 children day by day....

Those who close their eyes to the capitalist production conditions, in particular today to the imperialist monopolization process under the conditions of the scientific-technological revolution, those who simply "admire" certain sides of the productive forces, those who do not want to see what is going on in the production conditions and in particular in the command headquarters of business and politics of the developed capitalist countries, cannot find any answer to the questions of our time.

One must not overlook the fact that in mankind's history so far the revolution of the productive forces has enormously increased the adventurous spirit of the most aggressive forces of monopolistic capital. The race for maximum profits receives completely new dimensions. For even a 300-percent profit there was no crime the German fascists did not dare to commit. What happens, however, if profit increases of 500 and 1,000 percent become possible? There is only one answer to this: All forces of peace have to unite even more powerfully in a coalition of reason and realism and have to effect further disarmament steps.

The Workers Class Realizes Its Historic Mission [subhead]

In the struggle for peace and social progress every party, every state has to proceed from the real conditions, that is, the actual character of our epoch, which cannot be abolished by any statements or eliminated by any manipulations. [passage omitted]

The past decades prove that the workers class is the center of the new epoch, that it is the decisive force and determines the essential contents and the main direction of the development of this epoch. It is the workers class which realizes its historic mission in the struggle against the bourgeoisie and thus gives our epoch its characteristics. Sooner or later this class will realize its historic mission in all countries of the world. This is unavoidable.

What Marx and Engels Said Is Still Valid [subhead]

What Marx and Engels said in the "Communist Manifesto" is still valid, namely, that the history of all society so far is the history of class struggles and that in the course of its development the capitalist society has more and more been split into two big opposition camps, into two big classes that are directly opposing each other: into the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Today, too, all facts prove that capitalism is not less capitalistic than at the time of Marx and Engels. Its nature, which is inimical to man, its aggressive nature, and its urge for expansion and for exploiting other peoples have grown enormously. No matter what changes take place in the capitalist society, no matter how its class structure and the interrelationships between the classes may become more complicated and may be shaped—it remains a society of exploiters. And in such a society of exploiters the essential aspects of relations between the classes remains despite all changes—that is, the implacable struggle between those that are exploited and the exploiters. [passage omitted]

Those who deal thoroughly with the history of our people can see again and again: The German imperialist bourgeoisie has not stood the test of history in our century. It has always placed its interest in profits above national concerns and the concerns of mankind.

Thus, the welfare and happiness of our people objectively put the historic task on the agenda that a new class—the workers class—takes on the leadership of the

nation in order to put an end once and for all to the basic evils of a historically outdated society and its terrible consequences for the working people and to put in its place the deliberate, planned development of society for the benefit of those that have to date been deprived of their rights and exploited.

The Wheel of History Cannot Be Turned Back Either By Shouting for the Borders of 1937 or by Shooting at Wahlhausen [subhead]

With the founding of the GDR the best of our people, who heroically resisted fascism and thus saved the nation's honor, drew a clear and irrevocable line under the past, precisely because the imperialist forces of Germany failed so miserably and with such disastrous consequences for the peoples of the world before the judgment of history. This imperialist class, which wants to give good advice to all the world in questions of power, changes, and reforms, at the same time intently guards against the economic and political power in the GDR moving away by one millimeter from the bourgeoisie.

Neither through Adenauer's slogan "Better all of half of Germany than half of all Germany," nor through renewed revanchist demands for the re-establishment of the German Reich in the borders of 1937, nor through the march through the Brandenburg Gate with the band playing, which was planned in 1961, nor through the serious border provocation against the GDR territory in the Wahlhausen region was it possible to turn the wheel of history back on German soil. It cannot be overlooked that, in the end, the old "claim" to the so-called entire Germany, which has never been given up, is behind all these machinations and behind the various ideological concepts of the forces of confrontation and arms buildup in the FRG. This failed 40 years ago and it will fail in the future, too. The various attempts to blackmail the GDR politically, economically, and ideologically have always strengthened the socialist social system. Any convergence between the two social systems is as impossible as the attempt to unite fire and water.

Socialism Will Prove Its Superiority More and More Clearly [subhead]

We, the Marxist-Leninists, have never thought that the building of socialism would be a brief and simple task. The most profound change in mankind's history objectively is a long, complicated process, which takes place neither spontaneously nor in a straight line, which has never been a simple matter for any people or in any country. It was not easy for the peoples of the USSR, who for the first time established a socialist society despite being surrounded by capitalist countries, and who trod on virgin soil with every step. It was not easy for the peoples in China, in Cuba, Korea, Vietnam, or in other countries. This revolutionary change has always had to overcome big obstacles, here in Europe and everywhere else. For the further development of socialism the mastering of the scientific-technological revolution is decisive. Finally and in the long run, victory will go to that system which is able to turn scientific-technological progress to social progress for all members of society. The socialist social system is able to do this already today and in this field in particular it will prove its superiority more and more clearly.

The unavoidable conflict between the systems, which no one can avoid and which must not be covered up, must today take place in peaceful competition, under the conditions of the nuclear threat, without the use of military means or other forms of force. The steadfast efforts to achieve this goal correspond both to the class interest of socialism and to the interests of all of mankind.

Rise of the GDR—the Greatest Revolutionary Deed in German History [subhead]

The founding and rise of the GDR represent the greatest revolutionary deed and the most important cultural achievement in the history of the German people. We may note with great justification: Our scientific ideology has proved to be a reliable compass in the struggle for peace, democracy, and socialism. With its profound humaneness and its internationalist nature it has shown us the path toward overcoming nationalism and chauvinism, toward friendship with all peoples, in particular the Soviet people, toward the deeply rooted feeling of proletarian internationalism and international solidarity. [passage omitted]

Daily Reports on Bush's Anti-Drug Campaign

AU0809132089 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 7 Sep 89 p 2

[Washington Correspondent Peter Sereny's report: "Bush Has Opened Campaign Against Drugs—He Asked for National Consensus and $8 Billion"]

[Text] In his television speech aired from the White House on Wednesday night (Central European time), U.S. President George Bush announced a campaign against the use of drugs. This was his first speech to the nation, and the fact that U.S. presidents—with the exception of Reagan—make use of this spectacular means of talking to the nation only on really extraordinary occasions, also increased the dramatic impact. Kennedy made use of this means at the time of the Cuban missile crisis, Nixon when he resigned, and Carter when the rescue mission in Teheran had failed.

In an interview given 1 hour before he announced the $8 billion anti-drug action program, George Bush himself said that he knew that drugs were not the only big problem, not "the" problem in America today. However, it is clear from the opinion polls that the population considers this to be the most urgent problem today, partly because of its connection with crime and partly because of its social aspects.

The political piquancy of this new campaign is that the Republican President worked out this action program on the basis of a previous congressional decision initiated by the Democrats. This is probably why the Democrats generally supported the program, but they also criticized it for not going far enough (primarily in preventing drug abuse and in medical treatment), and they already claim that, without raising taxes, only by cutting from other social programs will enough funds be released as are necessary for this program. However, as everyone remembers, one of the key sentences of Bush's election campaign was the following: "Read my lips: there will be no tax increases." In any case, the President has now asked for bipartisan support and national consensus to implement his action program.

Compared to the previous efforts that have proven useless, an important new element in this presidential anti-drug program is that it integrates the activity of various government bodies and tries to reach the source of this problem by providing support to the main producer countries: Columbia, Bolivia, and Peru in their efforts aimed at rolling up the "cocaine trail." (More than two dozens government bodies and authorities have participated so far in the fight against drugs.) Although the sum of $8 billion mentioned by the President is a huge amount of money (but only a fraction of the $300 billion defense budget, according to Senator Joseph Biden) it exceeds this financial year's stipulations by only $2.2 billion.

The first commentaries in THE WASHINGTON POST and in THE NEW YORK TIMES pointed out that 70 percent of the billions of dollars earmarked for the anti-drug campaign would be spent on making the activity of the relevant criminal investigation bodies more efficient. Although the program also deals with providing information and treatment, as it clearly transpires, less money will be left for these purposes. Besides, the number of occasional cocaine users is decreasing in America today, but the number of regular drug users is increasing. In order to deter people from using cocaine, this program also stipulates measures that are unusual here, like publishing the names of people caught trying out cocaine. As to the drug-business tycoons, President Bush promised to round them up firmly and give them exemplary punishment, including the death penalty.

President Bush declared that the United States is ready to help any country that requests it help, and in this case, "we will put adequate means of the U.S. armed forces at their disposal for the first time." However, in the aforementioned interview, asked whether he excluded the deployment of U.S. troops in Columbia, President Bush said that he had not yet received any such requests and he does not think that such a request would actually come. Bush refused to answer the question about what he would do if "such a request did come nevertheless" and said the following: "I will not answer hypothetical questions."

U.S. Extends Hungary's MFN Status for 3 Years

LD0809103689 Budapest MTI in English 0731 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Washington, September 8 (MTI)—The House of Representatives in the United States approved the extension of Hungary's most favoured nation treatment to a further three years with a majority vote on Thursday. The decision, which has to be approved by the Senate, would provide duty concessions to Hungary in the field of bilateral trade until July 4, 1992. Until now, the practice of the U.S. legislation was to take a vote on the issue every year.

The original proposal was to extend the favour to five years, but the resistance of conservative legislators led to a compromise. The opponents of the five year version—mainly members of the conservative wing of the Republicans—argued that the original proposal would not sufficiently encourage the Budapest leadership to go on with the reforms.

Beck Comments on Extension

LD0809145489 Budapest MTI in English 1320 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 8, 1989 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Mr Tamas Beck, Hungarian trade minister, while delighted at the U.S. House of Representatives' 221 to 169 vote in favour of a three-year extension to Hungary's most favoured nation status, expressed disappointment on Friday that the vote was not for five years.

"Deep in my heart I had hoped for a five year extension", he said.

The vote is yet to gain Senate approval.

Mr Beck told MTI-ECONEWS that the three year extension seemed to be a compromise between representatives of the Democratic and Republican Parties. Mr Beck inferred that a five year extension could also have been achieved, had the new Hungarian law on free emigration already been passed by the Hungarian parliament.

"The compromise in the U.S. House of Representatives was based, it seems, on a perceived link between the extension of MFN and Hungarian emigration policy, a law on which is to be put before parliament in the near future", Mr Beck said.

"We see the efforts of those introducing the extension bill in the House as being very positive from Hungary's point of view", Mr Beck concluded in an interview given to MTI-ECONEWS on Friday.

Further Reportage on GDR Refugee Problem

Cabinet Examines Issue

LD0709162489 Hamburg DPA in German 1551 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest (DPA)—The approximately 6,000 GDR citizens who are waiting in Hungary for a legal opportunity to emigrate to the West can again take heart that they may soon be allowed to leave for the West.

The Hungarian government's spokesman, Zsolt Bajnok, announced after a cabinet session in Budapest today that the government has noted "that a few more days are needed to carry out the humanitarian measures." He had nothing to add to this sentence. Recently government representatives in Budapest have spoken of "a few more weeks" before the problem will be solved.

As the government spokesman went on to state, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn and Interior Minister Istvan Horvath briefed the cabinet "on the situation." Bajnok said: "The government noted the information and reasserted its earlier position on a solution to the problem."

Hungary has to the last always stressed that a solution to the refugee problem lies in the hands of Bonn and East Berlin.

GDR Ambassador to Hungary Gerd Vehres told journalists today in the light of speculation about a mass emigration by GDR citizens: "Such an action would be an unprecedented disregard for international law, treaties, agreements, and accords." The GDR has asked all states concerned "to make GDR citizens aware of this position and persuade them to leave diplomatic missions and other places where they were staying voluntarily and return home."

Vehres went on to state that his government has not asked the Hungarian authorities to extradite GDR citizens. It only asked that "this position be pointed out" to those wanting to flee. Talks between Bonn and Berlin on a peaceful solution to the problem are still going on, the ambassador said.

Dieter Kastrup, a head of department at the [FRG] Foreign Ministry, expressed the federal government's expectation that the CSSR will contribute to a humanitarian solution to the problem of the refugees in its Prague Embassy during talks with CSSR Foreign Minister Jaromir Johannes. The Foreign Ministry in Bonn announced this this evening. The CSSR has stated that this issue must be solved by the FRG and GDR governments.

GDR Envoy Holds News Conference

LD0709173289 Budapest MTI in English 1615 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—With respect to the affair of GDR citizens who are staying abroad with the intention of 'illegally travelling out of the country,' it is the categorical position of the German Democratic Republic that 'staying in diplomatic representations or in other places outside the GDR does not lead to benefits and is not a passable road to leaving the GDR for good,' said Gerd Vehres, ambassador of the GDR to Hungary, at a press conference held on Thursday in Budapest.

The ambassador said: The GDR has requested the competent organs of all states concerned in the affair to make this position known to the GDR citizens staying on the area of their countries, and 'to intervene that they voluntarily leave the diplomatic institutes and the places they are staying at, and return to their places of residence'. Those returning to the GDR will be ensured impunity, Mr Vehres reconfirmed, and 'they shall be basically able to return to their jobs and workplaces.'

In answer to questions by Hungarian journalists attending the press conference—representatives of the Western press organs were politely asked to leave the private programme—the GDR ambassador also reported that high-level talks are in progress between the GDR and the FRG about the matter, although he has no knowledge whether these talks extend to all aspects of the problem. The talks continue.

Further From GDR Envoy

LD0809051189 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2010 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Gerd Vehres, the GDR ambassador to Hungary, spoke at a press conference today about the matter of the GDR citizens who are trying to force an illegal emigration to the FRG. From Budapest, Berndt Runge:

[Runge] Ambassador Vehres said first that it is becoming clearer and clearer that the situation has been prepared and organized by the FRG over a long period of time. By

means of targetted activities and the exertion of pressure on other states, as well as by involving national and international organizations and aid services, it is trying to get GDR citizens to leave their country. Citing its duty to care for all Germans, which contravenes international law, and disregarding GDR citizenship, the FRG is violating the law in issuing identification and travel documents to GDR citizens. Speculations in the last few days by the Western media about an alleged mass exodus would, in the words of the GDR diplomat, be an unprecedented violation of international law, as well as of treaties, agreements and concords. The GDR asked all relevant agencies—of other states too—to acquaint GDR citizens with this standpoint and tell them to leave the diplomatic missions voluntarily and return home.

The ambassador spoke of the measures the embassy itself is taking to advise the GDR citizens. In order to inform them of our government's stand, leaflets were issued days ago, a confidential phone line was set up, and advisory centers were set up by our consular section directly beside the camps. However, Vehres had the impression that the camps situated here are practically in the hands of FRG representatives, [word indistinct] that they practically rule over the GDR citizens and attempt to implement its duty to care for all Germans. On the other hand, obstacles are put in the way of representatives of that state whose citizens these are, of members of our embassy consular section who are carrying out their normal, internationally usual activity vis-a-vis their own citizens.

A number of GDR citizens said that they were prepared to talk to members of the embassy consular section and return to the GDR. Apart from the well-known frontline reporting, which continues unabated according to GDR diplomats, FRG agencies have presumptuously begun to prevent GDR citizens from using this opportunity for consultation with members of the consular section. GDR consul Dieter Grahmann had been forced, said Gerd Vehres, to fullfill his legal duty of advising GDR citizens outside the camp.

He said that there were discussions between the FRG and the GDR on these problems. He could not say at the moment whether these talks embraced all aspects of the problem. The discussion will continue in any case. The events of the last few weeks show, the ambassador said in conclusion, that public attempts at threats and blackmail do not promote the solution of the problems. The GDR requests to the Hungarian authorties for support contained no demands for the expulsion of the relevant GDR citizens. In general—this was becoming clear in Budapest, today as well—what is needed to solve such a complicated issue is realism, perspective, and patience. In any case, the embassy will do all in its power to help clear up this problem.

'Secret Agreement' Denied

LD0809094189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] The Hungarian ambassador in Bonn has denied that there would be a secret agreement between Bonn and Budapest regarding the refugee affair. The diplomat told NEPSZABADSAG that he has accompanied Premier Miklos Nemeth and Foreign Minister Gyula Horn on their talks, and knowing the content of the talks, he can say that there is no secret agreement.

Government Confirms Stand

LD0709185789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Excerpts] [Presenter] Gabor Bankuti talked to government spokesman Zsolt Bajnok about today's Council of Ministers session. [passage omitted]

[Bankuti] I am informed that at today's session, the Council discussed an out of turn topic, namely, the matter of GDR citizens staying in our country.

[Begin Bajnok recording] Yes, Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs, and Istvan Horvath, minister of internal affairs, presented reports on the matter of GDR citizens staying in Hungary who wish to resettle in the FRG. The government confirmed its stance formed earlier regarding the solving of this matter. It also acknowledged that a few more days are still necessary to carry out the humanitarian measures. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Spokesman Bajnok on Issue

LD0709210289 Budapest MTI in English 1850 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—Foreign Minister Gyula Horn and Minister of the Interior Istvan Horvath informed the government that a few more days are still needed to solve the fate of the GDR refugees staying in Hungary in a humanitarian manner, journalists were informed by acting government spokesman Zsolt Bajnok, at the customary international press conference following the session of government on Thursday. The matter is a delicate one, talks are in progress between the concerned sides, therefore, Mr Bajnok could not elaborate.

He did, however, report that the Thursday session of government was chaired by Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy, filling in for Miklos Nemeth, who is ill. Government discussed the report on launching the privatization programme. Dr Janos Martonyi, government commissioner for privatization, said that with privatization, the government aims to more effectively operate state property, to create market relations as early as possible, to accelerate the involvement of foreign

working capital, and to better supply domestic consumers. Several large companies under state administration authority are planned to be transformed into partnerships with a central decision, and the spontaneous and decentralized change in ownership is to be encouraged.

The Council of Ministers also discussed the problems in meat supply, and decided to regroup sums turned to subsidies from the budget, thereby providing greater sums to small producers, alongside liberating the purchasing prices of slaughter pig, and of pork. It has been promised that taxes of small producers will not be raised in 1990.

Mr Bajnok also said that 25 per cent of Hungary's slaughter pig production is exported at present, only 17 per cent will be sold abroad next year.

The government does not intend to introduce meat coupons, not even the possibility of this arose in government circles—the spokesman said, refuting the rumours that have spread in Budapest.

Another question was on directing the water of the Danube River into a channel to be built on Czechoslovak area. Mr Bajnok had no new information about this, he did, however, say that the issue will be on the agenda of the bilateral deputy prime ministerial meeting to be held in the coming days.

In August and September, about 10 to 12 per cent less energy is to arrive in Hungary from the Soviet Union, but it has been promised that contractual order will return for deliveries from October, said the spokesman in answer to another question.

Government Deplores CSSR Diversion of Danube

LD0709142989 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] The Hungarian Government has anounced that it is not prepared to conduct talks with Czechoslovakia about the possible diversion of the Danube. This is a reply to the Slovak anouncement that the alteration of the path of the river has been started.

Our country wishes to urgently clarify the Czechoslovak plans in connection with the possible diversion of the Danube. Government Commissioner Laszlo Udvari has expressed the hope that the statement, according to which the diversion of the Danube has started on the Slovak side, is not the stance of the Czechoslovak Government.

Soviet Plans To Sell Oil for Dollars Denied

LD0709124389 Budapest MTI in English 1025 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 7, 1989 (MTI-Econews)—Following a recent report from West Germany, a Hungarian Ministry of Trade spokesman, in a statement to MTI-Econews, has denied any knowledge of Soviet plans to sell Hungary mineral oil for dollars from January 1, 1990.

The current intergovernment agreement under which Hungary pays for Soviet oil deliveries in transferable roubles is valid until December 31, 1990, and neither side had opted out, the Trade Ministry official said.

The report, published by the East European Research Institute of Hamburg, suggested that all Comecon countries would have to pay for their Soviet oil in dollars from the beginning of next year.

Over the last three years Hungary's annual quota of Soviet oil has been 7.4 million tonnes. Comecon oil prices are fixed annually, according to the Bucharest price principle, based on the average world market oil price over the previous five years. In line with the drop in world market prices, the price of Soviet oil has also fallen by over 10 per cent a year for the last three years.

Agreement with the Soviets on oil supplies in 1990 is not expected until the beginning of next year, the ministry official said, therefore even though the Soviet Union and Hungary have already started preparatory talks on an eventual switch-over to dollar accounting in bilateral trade, the West German research institute report took the Hungarian Ministry of Trade completely by surprise.

UK's King Ends Visit; Seen Off by Karpati

LD0709183489 Budapest MTI in English 1424 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—On Thursday Tom King, secretary of state for defence of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, left Budapest after the four-day official visit he paid to Hungary at the head of a delegation. He was the guest of Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defence.

At the farewell ceremony, Ferenc Karpati presented Tom King with a piece of the wire fence dismantled on the Hungarian-Austrian border, a usual gift for high-ranking Western guests visiting Hungary. The defence minister stressed that the fence was also a physical embodiment of the dividedness of the European continent and now the Hungarian people are determined to actively contribute to eliminating dividedness. This purpose is served by the establishment of top-level military contacts between Hungary and Great Britain.

Tom King met representatives of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Federation of Young Democrats and the Democratic Trade Union of Scientific Workers at the British ambassador's residence on Wednesday.

Angolan President Dos Santos Arrives on Visit

LD0709134189 Budapest MTI in English
0924 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of the People's Republic of Angola and president of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] in Hungary on an official friendly visit, at the invitation of Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, and Rezso Nyers, president of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] arrived in Budapest on Thursday.

The president will be holding talks with Bruno Straub and Lajos Horvath, deputy speaker of parliament, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, and Rezso Nyers.

Meets Straub, Horvath

LD0709184189 Budapest MTI in English
1427 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—As reported, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola and president of the MPLA [People's Liberation Movement of Angola] Labour Party, arrived for an official, friendly visit to Hungary on thursday.

Mr dos Santos held talks with F. Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, and Lajos Horvath, vice-president of the National Assembly. MTI has been informed that the talks stepped beyond a general informative nature, because Hungary would like to make a better use of possibilities inherent in its relations with the developing countries. At the same time, the processes under way in Hungary are being followed with great interest in Angola.

Receives Nyers

LD0709223589 Budapest MTI in English
1955 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—Jose Eduardo dos Santos, President of the People's Republic of Angola and president of the MPLA-Workers' [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Party, met with Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, on Thursday in Budapest.

At the cordial meeting, the politicians exchanged views on possibilities of social modernization. Mr dos Santos said that the MPLA-Workers' Party is to hold its congress next year. A group of Hungarian experts provided assistance in working out the economic policy guideline, and Mr dos Santos highly evaluated their activity. He also said that the political conditions in Angola still have not been created for the introduction of the multi-party system, but initiate that the social, professional and mass organizations be represented in the National People's Assembly.

Mr Nyers was of the opinion that social modernization can be realized also amidst the frameworks of the one-party system. Outlining the Hungarian situation, he held that separating the activity of the party and the government is a key issue of further progress. In Mr Nyer's evaluation, the guarantee for this can be provided in case genuine people's will is enforced through popular representation, to which the government formed from representatives of the parties has a reporting obligation.

Meets Deputy Premier

LD0709224289 Budapest MTI in English
2025 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola, president of the MPLA-Workers' [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Party, held talks with Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy on Thursday in Budapest. (Preliminary plans included a meeting with Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth, who was not able to attend due to illness.)

The negotiating sides mutually reported about the economic reform efforts of their countries, and discussed possibilities to further develop economic relations. They agreed it is expedient to create economic cooperation based on new principles, with economic ventures that are advantageous for both sides, by taking the limited possibilities into consideration.

During the day, Mr dos Santos placed a wreath at the memorial of Hungarian heroes in Budapest's Heroes' Square.

Given Dinner by Straub

LD0709224689 Budapest MTI in English
2035 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—A gala dinner was held in honour of Jose Eduardo dos Santos on Thursday evening by his hosts. In his toast, F Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, briefly outlined the main points of the economic and political reforms taking place in Hungary. Analyzing the relations of the two countries, Mr Straub stressed that only modest results have been attained in economic cooperation in the some 15 years since Angola gained its independence. Therefore, the means of intensifying cooperation, the forms and areas in which mutually advantageous economic relations can be established by taking the current, limited possibilities into consideration, should be jointly seeked [as received].

In his return toast, Mr dos Santos reconfirmed that Angola is ready to cooperate with Hungary. He outlined the international economic situation in which the abyss between the industrially developed and the developing countries has further widened. Mr dos Santos spoke about the Angolan efforts aimed at creating the structural balance of the economic system, and the Angolan economic reform programme. Discussing in detail the

South African circumstances that make the establishment of Angola's internal peace more difficult. Mr dos Santos stressed that further efforts are needed for the world to continue progressing on the road of peace, and for the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, and war to be averted once and for all.

Departs 8 Sep

LD0809103989 Budapest MTI in English 0733 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 8 (MTI)—Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the People's Republic of Angola and president of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labour Party, left Hungary on Friday concluding his official friendly visit.

MSZMP Delegates Elected, Congress To Open

Pozsgay Not Elected in Debrecen

LD0609222689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] [Presenter] Imre Pozsgay was not elected as a delegate to the congress in Debrecen. The party membership has decided by direct voting as to who should be the 27 party members out of the 34 candidates who will represent the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] membership of the town at the party congress. Imre Pozsgay's name was not on the preliminary lists and his nomination was proposed by the reform circles.

The minister of state, in a statement to MTI, has denied that anybody would have talked to him from Debrecen in connection with his nomination. He considered that it would have been more fortunate if he would have actually known about the proposal and he could have outlined his standpoint at the electoral forum, but despite this, he undertook the judgement of Debrecen.

Out of the 14,000 party members of the county, more than 8,000 people made use of the possibility of direct voting. After having counted the votes, it has come to light that Imre Pozsgay was not among the 27 delegates to the congress.

Debrecen Election Analyzed

LD0709132489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] The fact the Imre Pozsgay had not been elected as a delegate of Debrecen to the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Congress in October continues, naturally, to preoccupy public opinion in Debrecen and, I think, in other parts of the country too. Istvan Palfi reports:

[Palfi] It is already possible to see three issues clearer in Debrecen today after Imre Pozsgay's not being elected a congress delegate. It was the territorial liaison officer of the MSZMP Central Committee who proposed in Debrecen, at the electoral forum of the town that Imre Pozsgay be nominated. Lajos Menyhart, first secretary of the town's party committee, and Secretary (Ida Bardi) then suggested to the Reform Circles to consider the issue, but they emphasized that it was not a directive. The Reform Circles voted for it, but they did not coordinate in advance with Imre Pozsgay regarding his nomination.

According to Reform Circles opinions, the election was influenced by a conscious press campaign against the person of Imre Pozsgay, but this is rejected by the owner of the county's newspaper, the MSZMP. They say that they did not influence editorial principles, their stand was not timed deliberately for the election. On the other hand, speaking about the manipulations surrounding the election, it is certain that a retired party member was visited by people from his basic organization with a ballot paper already filled in. This was testified to by the returning committee, but no official protest has arrived from anywhere.

At the MSZMP town committee it has been admitted that a strange agitation has spread in the town. According to this, doctors and Imre Pozsgay, minister of state, should be crossed out by party members. However, official sources did not confirm this. It is also being investigated whether ballots could possibly have been misunderstand, because several hundreds of ballots did not arrive on time for something like this.

The election result therefore does not appear final by any means.

Reform Circles View Elections

LD0709211189 Budapest MTI in English 1525 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 7 (MTI)—The 2nd national conference of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] Reform Circles (September 2-3) completely attained its aim. The delegates left no doubt that they want a new party manifesto and unambiguously rejected the principle of democratic centralism. Reform Circle representatives told a press conference in Budapest on Thursday. [7 September].

The conference made it clear that the Reform Circles equally wish to transform the HSWP into a new, democratically structured, left-wing socialist party. They want to create a democratic Hungary where the principles of a market economy and parliamentary democracy are considered a priority. Within the party, they are ready to join hands with all who espouse these values, but refuse the alliance of those who deny any one of these principles.

In connection with Imre Pozsgay's failure at the congressional delegate election in Debrecen, they pointed out they consider it inconceivable for this prominent reform movement personality not to receive a mandate. They attribute the event not as much to the "leftists" as to the party oligarchy.

It was also mentioned that Imre Pozsgay would be nominated as a congresional delegate in Kecskemet, and the Reform Circles will also take steps for his election as a delegate for Budapest. They can do so because the HSWP has no election rules to the contrary.

Answering a question, the Reform Circle representatives said that the week-end conference reached the agreement that the basic party organizations should pull out from the places of work. The majority were for the pullout to start immediately. As to the party's property, the coordination council would probably formulate its position during its Saturday session. The Reform Circles consider the socialization of the bulk of party property necessary, particularly real estates in the luxury category.

Pozsgay Interview on New Movement

LD0709231789 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] The news that Imre Pozsgay has not been elected a representative to the [party] conference in Debrecen was widely discussed at a press conference of the Reform Groups. [Correspondent] Anita Kovacs has asked the person most concerned about the issue:

[Begin recording] [Pozsgay] It surprised me, but that does not express it adequately. The meeting of electors proposed me as a delegate nominee, unfortunately without my knowledge and only subsequently asking my consent. So I could not be an active participant of this campaign, merely a passive one. [passage omitted]

[Kovacs] You are going to deliver a lecture here to the People's Front about a new movement, the Movement for a Democratic Hungary. What does this new movement mean?

[Pozsgay] It is not going to be a People's Front movement. It was started on the initiative of many people, because this society wants to participate in the internal and revolutionary transformations. It accepts the peaceful transition but it does not want to leave it exclusively to the conference tables and the negotiations of political organizations.

[Kovacs] What sort of role are you going to play in this movement?

[Pozsgay] I do not know yet. According to the trust demonstrated so far, it is believed that I am or that I could be one of the leaders of this movement. But let us leave this to the mass rally on 16 [September] at which the founders and participants of the movement will make statements about this, here in Budapest. [end recording]

Pozsgay Elected in Kecskemet

LD0709204489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Today, in Kecskemet, Imre Pozsgay was elected as a delegate to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress. Previously, in Debrecen, he failed to get the necessary number of votes. Out of the 101 representatives of the branch party organizations operating in the county seat of Bacs-Kiskun, 64 people voted for Imre Pozsgay.

Statutes of Congress Left Open

LD0809101889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0800 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Nine Hundred out of the 1,200 delegates to the forthcoming Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] congress have already been elected. Andras Toth, head of the MSZMP Central Committee Political Department, has said that the proportion of young people and pensioners among the delegates is very low.

For the time being it is not known as to whether the meeting on 6 October will be the 14th MSZMP Congress or the founding conference of a new party. The operational order is going to be different this time, because there will be no script. The agenda will be formed according to the decisions of the groups of delegates.

According to the plans, four items will be discussed. First, the general secretary will give his report on the political situation and the most important tasks. This will be followed by the debate on the party program, the adoption of the organizational statutes, and the election of the national bodies and officials.

More on Congress Preparations

LD0809113689 Budapest MTI in English 0915 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Budapest, September 8 (MTI)—Three-quarters of the 1,200 congressional delegates of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], have now been elected and Andras Toth, head of the Political Department of the HSWP CC [Central Committee], told MTI that the majority did not participate in the 13th congress or the party conference of last May. While 40 per cent of the party membership hold diplomas the ratio is nearly 90 per cent among delegates.

Twenty members of the CC and about half of the Political Executive Committee have so far been elected delegates. The majority of the CC members did not nominate themselves, since under the prevailing rules, members of the Central Committee and Central Control Committee have a right to vote at the congress. The fact that the ruling is questioned by the majority of delegates might lead to its cancellation.

The name of the congress is to be decided later. 'If the emphasis is on continuity, then it will be the 14th

congress, if it will mark the birth of a new party, then a founding congress', said Mr Toth. No corporate decision has been passed so far on whom to invite to the congress, which will be held in the Budapest Convention Centre. It is important that the discussions should be open and representatives of social organizations and public life present. It is not out of the question that certain opposition parties will also be invited, particulary those who are potential coalition partners after the elections. Although he did not name any parties, Mr Toth said that, for example, the Hungarian Democratic forum had also invited the HSWP to its national session.

The schedule will be decided on by the delegate groups. Mr Toth believes the congress will be organized on the lines of West European social democratic and socialist parties.

Four items are planned for the agenda: The general secretary's report on the political situation and tasks, the party manifesto, the organizational rules and the election of national bodies and officials. The first day of the four-day congress, will seek to clarify what kind of a party the membership wants, as it is a topic which preceeds other political questions.

There will be one delegate for every 5,000 party members. Members of the National Board will be delegated and the 15-20-strong presidium elected by list. Each group of delegates will be allowed to put up its own list with the names of candidates. Delegate groups may be organized not only according to counties, but also to trends. One group should consist of at least 50 members. Although the period for electing delegates expires only on September 23, representatives of delegate groups which have been formed will also be invited to the CC session of September 12. On September 30, there will be a coordinating session attended by 5-7 delegates per group to discuss controversial questions.

Grosz Interviewed on Position of Party Secretary

AU0709134189 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary Karoly Grosz by correspondent Istvan Zalai: "My Concept Is Close to a Center in Formation—Karoly Grosz on the Position of General Secretary"—on board aircraft from Helsinki to Budapest on 5 September]

[Text] On board the aircraft carrying him home from Helsinki, Karoly Grosz gave an interview to MTI, Hungarian Radio, and NEPSZABADSAG correspondents.

[Zalai] As you have put it, one of the main purposes of your visit to Finland was to obtain information; in Helsinki's words: you came to get ideas for the Hungarian reform policy. What information have you gained?

[Grosz] First of all, I am returning home with the view that it is impossible to engage in politics without patience, mutual respect, and openness. In Helsinki, politicians use clear arguments in their debates and passion does not predominate; I had the opportunity to see high-level political behavior.

[Zalai] In an interview for a Helsinki newspaper, you said that the position of general secretary would soon be abolished in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. The way this statement appeared in the Hungarian press was that you would resign from your position of general secretary at the party congress. How do you see your political career in the future?

[Grosz] The idea of abolishing the position of general secretary is the result of joint thinking. The Central Committee session of June this year already indicated that guiding the political life was the task of the party chairman. Of course, the party chairman is unable to coordinate and guide party life all by himself, and therefore, we need an executive secretariat in charge of these tasks. I think that this should not begin with someone my age, and the party future would also benefit from the election of leaders of a younger generation to learn the party work at this level.

Besides, the time has come for the party leadership to build the party systematically and try out the cadres who could become the political leaders of the party in the future. I do not think we need the position of general secretary; this was my belief in the past too. As I do not accept this coordinating activity because I do not believe it would be in the interest of our movement, nor do I have such ambitions either. I feel I must retire from this position, however, at the same time, I want to participate actively in political public life. The fate of every politician is decided by the community; if the party congress or the subsequent elections give me the confidence to participate in the party leadership, naturally, I will consider this to be an honor and I will gladly accept the task. All the more so because, if my sense of political proportions has not deceived me yet, there are people and forces in this movement who believe that everything I represent here is constructive and benefits development.

Today, when people are quick to call themselves reformers and give too quick an answer to certain questions without sober consideration, it seems to me that we need the type of people who want to facilitate our development in a more realistic and calm way. We need active public work in accordance with one's beliefs and convictions, rather than labels and attributes. Of course, if all this does not meet the opinion of the delegates or their elected bodies, we will also have to draw the appropriate conclusions. Then, one should engage in politics on another level, in another area. As far as details are concerned, I believe I would be able to amend my political views if I find justified counterarguments in other people's opinions, or if practice does not prove my views. However, I will not give up my political convictions.

[Zalai] There are different schools of thought within the MSZMP. Which do you feel close to, because certain Finish dailies called you a conservative?

[Grosz] Yes, such views have appeared in the Finish press, just as they have in the Hungarian press. President

Koivisto's witty toast calmed me down: He said that these words did not express the policy represented by certain people. I think my political concept is close to the position of a center currently in formation. I believe that my views lie somewhere midway between the selfish and extremist reform-rhethoric that, in my view, will sooner or later lead to failure, and the conservative "left-wing" incapable of renewing itself and sticking to the old ways by all means.

[Zalai] It was also reported in the Finnish press that, while three members of the party Presidium attended the meeting of the Reform Circles, you wrote to the Ferenc Munnich Society, greeting it as a strategic ally of the MSZMP. Some people criticized this letter and found it compromising to the MSZMP and the Third Side. What is your opinion about this?

[Grosz] Everyone has a sovereign right to judge the opinion of a politician. Everything I wrote in the letter to the Ferenc Munnich Society I did out of conviction. I do not think that, with my greetings, I hurt any interest or efforts. I continue to believe that this association is not some kind of left-wing current within the party, but an independent political grouping with a lot of non-party members in it. In my view, it is not a mistake that we have similar views on several issues.

[Zalai] However, does this fact mean your separation from or confrontation with the party Presidium?

[Grosz] The Reform Circles invited the three members of the party Presidium to attend their meeting, and they did not invite me. It is very simple to draw the conclusion: I cannot be there and I cannot make a statement there. Thus, it was not me who made the choice, but the Reform Circles evaluated me as such. I do not know whether the Ferenc Munnich Society invited the other members of the Presidium because I did not talk to them about this issue. I was invited, but I could not go, and I sent a letter instead. One has to go to a place when one is invited, or reply to an invitation, if one cannot go. Besides, I have repeatedly said that I joined the Hungarian Communist Party and not the Reform Circles in 1945. Within the party, I belong to the committed political community that serves the cause of socialism.

SZOT Chief Nagy Addresses Miners' Rally

AU0109190789 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 31 Aug 89 p 5

[Correspondents' report on speech by SZOT General Secretary Sandor Nagy at a miners' rally held in the Sports Hall in Pecs on 30 August: "The Workers Should Not Bear Alone All the Burdens of Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] In the introduction of his speech, the general secretary of the National Council of Trade Unions [SZOT] said that today's rally and its subject is not only the affair of uranium miners but a considerable part of the entire country's organized workers feel solidarity with these miners. [passage omitted]

Sandor Nagy then said that the great masses of employees are the main losers of the political and economic mistakes of the past decades. Sandor Nagy mentioned the economic and political mechanism that was doomed to failure and that mainly people who live on wages and salaries must bear the burdens of this necessary and inevitable restructuring process, and, at the same time, these people see that the deteriorating situation has not only losers but also a considerable number of people who benefit from it. [passage omitted]

Sandor Nagy then said the following: "Our country is living through hard times both from an economic and political viewpoint. An increasing number of people do not see the usefulness and sense of their work. An increasing number of people are struggling with existential problems. More and more people experience the greatest danger threatening people who depend on their work to live, namely the danger of losing their jobs. Unfortunately, we must say that the voice of discontent does not reach the places it should reach." [passage omitted]

"Undoubtedly, there is a transitional period in Hungary today, from every point of view. Some political factors in power had long ago forgotten the value of the socialist system: the working man, and they have not yet learned what the capitalist entrepreneurs have known for a long time, namely that there can be no economic achievements without winning over the workers and appreciating their work.

"Our country's economic situation is well known. Our natural resources are limited and we do not have capital. Thus, we should not forget about our main resource, the working man. If nobody cares about the working man, our dreams of joining the vanguard of Europe will vanish, and, at the most, we will be able to join the poorhouse of Europe" [passage omitted]

"The SZOT supports the justified demands of the uranium miners, coal miners, the metallurgical workers of Ozd, the unemployed people in Szabolcs county, the young people who cannot find a job, and the unemployed intellectuals. The trade unions do not demand something impossible to fulfill and do not set unrealistic goals for themselves. We are making our voice heard for all these people and we want to stress this demand more firmly than hitherto.

"The SZOT wants to lead the workers' justified protests and demands and therefore, the SZOT will support all the initiatives that will contribute to the increase in the voice of our membership of several millions workers in the coming days and weeks.

"We regard the coming month as the month of trade union solidarity when we want to make our voice heard even stronger than usual. We want to make the voice of silent millions heard everywhere." [passage omitted]

Walesa Meets FRG's Kohl, Von Weizsaecker

LD0809053189 Warsaw PAP in English 0055 GMT 8 Sep 89

[Text] Bonn, Sept. 7—The climax of a four-day visit to the FRG by Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa was his being received today by FRG President Richard von Weizsaecker and Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Walesa held two one-hour talks with them. The FRG president described his talk with the Solidarnosc leader as fruitful and encouraging and added that the Polish visitor made a big impression on him.

Walesa used the opportunity to appeal to the president to encourage West German industrialists' interest in Poland. He also invited the president to pay a visit to Gdansk. Richard von Weizsaecker accepted the invitation but said he cannot break the fixed order of visits. The spokesman for the president pointed to Weizsaecker's gesture of accompanying Walesa to a car after the end of the meeting.

Chancellor Kohl told Walesa that the FRG wanted to open wide the gates to better, friendly and good-neighbourly cooperation between the two nations. Spokesman for the government Klein said that the two sides agreed that the key to everything was economy and added that the FRG would expectedly assist Poland in this respect.

Next week, chancellor's plenipotentiary Horst Teltschik will arrive in Warsaw. Later on, a group of Polish economic experts will go to the FRG to present concrete plans and ideas. No definite date of Kohl's visit to Poland was mentioned though it is scheduled for this year. Walesa said he supported FRG's decision to postpone the visit since the matters are too important to settle them slapdash. No details of Polish-West German cooperation were discussed. Chancellor Kohl asked Lech Walesa to convey his greetings to Prime Minister Mazowiecki, Klein said.

Today's press conference held in the DGB [German Trade Union Federation] Centre in Duesseldorf summed up Walesa's four-day visit to the FRG to end tomorrow. While opening the conference, chairman of DGB Ernst Breit expressed his bitterness over the reserve of FRG businessmen towards the offer of cooperation with Poland put forth by Walesa.

Asked what he thinks about some commentaries in the local press today charging that "Walesa failed to win anything", the leader of "Solidarnosc" said that he had won more than he had expected although he had not got very much in his pockets yet. "I arrived here to present Poland and Polish possibilities, but economy is not my domain. I am a trade unionist."

While answering a question on his attitude to the Carmelite conflict, Walesa said that he was very reluctant to speak on the subject as this issue is not in his powers, nonetheless he is of the opinion that wherever a man is buried everybody must have an unrestrained access to the dead to pay tribute.

In the evening Walesa delivered a lecture in the Friedrich Ebert Foundation which is close to SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany]. As the attendance turned out larger than expected the event had to be moved to a bigger hall. In his lecture, Walesa strongly emphasized univocal and unambiguous stand of Polish society on the irreversibility of the Polish border on the Odra and the Nysa Rivers and added that Gdansk, Wroclaw and Szczecin are the strongholds of "Solidarnosc".

Further Reportage on Visit

For FRG reportage on Lecha Walesa's visit to the FRG, including his talks with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl, see the FRG section of the 6 September West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Warsaw Lists Probable Ministerial Line-Up

LD0709220189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Meanwhile, as our reporter has found out unofficially from deputies of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group (OKP), Tadeusz Mazowiecki will probably appoint the following Council of Ministers:

The deputy premiers are to be Jan Janowski, democratic party [SD]; Leszek Balcerowicz, Solidarity; Czeslaw Kiszczak, Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] and Kazimierz Olesiak or Czeslaw Janicki, United Peasant Party [ZSL].

The minister for foreign affairs will probably be Krzysztof Skubiszewski, Professor of Law of the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan.

Economic cooperation with abroad—Janusz Kaczurba or Andrzej Wojcik, both of the PZPR

Health and social welfare—Andrzej Kosiniak-(Kamysz), ZSL

National education—Henryk Samsonowicz, Solidarity

Industry—Tadeusz Syryjczyk, chairman of the Krakow Industrial Society

Labor and social policy—Jacek Kuron, Solidarity

Justice—Aleksander Bentkowski, ZSL

Environmental protection—Bronislaw Kaminski, ZSL

Technical progress and innovation—Jan Janowski, SD

Housing construction—Aleksander Paszynski, Solidarity

Transport—Andrzej Wieladek, PZPR

Communications—Marek Kucharski, SD

Domestic trade—Aleksander Mackiewicz, SD

Finance—Leszek Balcerowicz, Solidarity

Culture—Izabella Cywinska, Solidarity

National defense—Florian Siwicki

Internal affairs—Czeslaw Kiszczak, both of the PZPR

Aleksander Hall and Kazimierz Regulski are also supposedly to enter the government as ministers without portfolio, concerned with contacts with the political parties and territorial self-government respectively. Senator Witold Trzeciakowski is spoken of as the future head of the Economic Council, and Jacek Ambroziak as the head of the Office of the Council of Ministers.

Further Details

LD0709191889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] At 1720, Ryszard (Wojtkowski), director of the Premier's Office, delivered a list of candidates for members of the new government to the Secretariat of the Sejm Speaker. We do not know the full list of Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's cabinet yet but we do know what is being said in the Sejm lobbies. The near certain candidates for deputy premiers are: Gabriel Janowski, from Solidarity; Leszek Balcerowicz, from the Democratic Party; Kazimierz Olsiak, from the United Peasants' Party [ZSL]; and Czeslaw Kiszczak from the Polish United Workers Party. We have already given the names of the candidates for ministers from the ZSL so now a few words about the Solidarity candidates for Premier Mazowiecki's cabinet.

The important portfolio of minister of foreign affairs is one the premier intends to grant to Kazimierz Skubiszewski from the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group, who is a professor of international law at the Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan. On the other hand, Jacek Kuron is being spoken of as a certain candidate for minister of labor and social policy. The minister of national education is to be Professor Henryk Samsonowicz.

Solidarity Paper Speculation

LD0509165189 Warsaw PAP in English 1508 GMT 5 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 5—"There are more rumours than facts," states the GAZETA WYBORCZA in an article on speculations on the possible line-up of the new government. Excerpts:

"It is especially hard to find out anything about personnel proposals from the Solidarnosc side.

"In the beginning the Democratic Party [DP] had an appetite for 4-5 ministries and a vice premier. Today there is talk of a vice premier, the Ministry of Justice and commerce-market. Were the DP to receive a possibility to fill in a vice premier's seat tackling economic matters, the candidate could be Jozef Szawiec of Bialystok, a new face in the DP leadership. Were the DP vice premier to deal with other matters, then Jan Janowski, a professor of the mining- metallurgy academy from Kracow. [sentence as received] In the case of the Ministry of Justice, one could ponder two candidatures, that of the present minister, Lukasz Balcer or Jozef Musiol who presumably has greater chances.

"It seems that the United Peasant Party [UPP] is betting on the present vice premier, Kazimierz Olesiak and wants him to keep the job. Let us recall that the Solidarnosc of farmers protested vigorously against this candidature. Were the UPP to receive the Ministry of Health, it would propose this portfolio to Dr. Andrzej Kosiniak.

"The concept of entrusting the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Roman Malinowski has flared public and inner-party emotions and divisions.

"As to the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] the new CC [Central Committee] secretary, Slawomir Wiatr told a foreign newsman that this party, apart from the Ministry of Defence and Internal Affairs, was counting on the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Culture, Communications and a vice premier.

"There is also open talk in Warsaw about the return of Wladyslaw Baka to the post of president of the NBP, National Bank of Poland.

"As concerns the ministries which are to be headed by 'our' (Solidarnosc) ministers, there are not many leaks on the outside. At issue are above all the key economic ministries. Prof. Witold Trzeciakowski seems to be the only sure candidate in this respect.

"The name of Jacek Kuron surfaces frequently, sometimes in the context of a vice premier's seat, at other times of minister of labour.

"Nearly everyone takes interest in the future of the radio and television committee. The possible nomination of Krzysztof Kozlowski of the TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY as the head of the new Ministry of Information, sheds some light on the matter.

"Aleksander Hall is earmarked—it is said at the Sejm—for a minister without a portfolio handling contacts with political parties. Some reports reaching me, at times looking to be a joke, indicate that the co-founder of the pacifist "Wolnosc I Pokoj" organization, deputy Jan Rokita, does not want to be a vice minister of internal affairs because he prefers the ministry of national defence."

Geremek Comments

LD0809095189 Warsaw PAP in English 2348 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 7—"The recent days close up a certain chapter and this is a time whose historic significance is clear both to the Polish public opinion and to the world," leader of the Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group OKP Bronislaw Geremek told a press conference held tonight after the meeting of Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki with OKP deputies and senators.

"On Tuesday, as we believe, Poland will have her government," Geremek said, "and we attach weight and hopes to this fact."

OKP leader told newsmen that the meeting with Prime Minister Mazowiecki examined the rules of forming government, directions of its activity and main lines of premier's program."The effect of the meeting is a doubtless credit of confidence granted not only to the government but also to the cabinet which the prime minister is proposing," he opined.

Asked if he takes into account controversies over the office of farming minister, Geremek said that the prime minister had made decisions using the powers he has. "We do hope," he said,"that together with colleagues from Solidarnosc of individual farmers we will settle the problem to their satisfaction."

In response to a question about the expected economic assistance for Poland from the West, Geremek said that it was too early to assess it. " The assistance is important but above all one ought to be aware of the fact that nobody will reform the economy for us and nobody will guarantee us prosperity. We think that the government headed by Tadeusz Mazowiecki can count on the biggest possible assistance at the moment."

Senate President on Government Formation

AU0709141189 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 7 Sep 89 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Stelmachowski, president of the Polish Senate, by Burkhard Bischof in Vienna: "The Central Committee Has Been Cut Off"; date not given]

[Excerpt] DIE PRESSE: Mr President, what does it mean for the Senate of which you are the head that, in the person of Tadeusz Mazowiecki, a representative of your Solidarity will head the future Polish Government?

Andrzej Stelmachowski: The role of the Senate has changed a bit because of this. At first it looked as if the Senate would get the role of a monitoring body and an instrument of pressure toward the Government. Now it will be our task to help Mr Mazowiecki and his government. As is known, Solidarity has 99 percent of the seats in the Senate.

However, the Senate has another function: It should deal with longer-term political developments. In this field it has an advantage over the government, which is subjected to the pressure of everyday political requirements. If, for instance, we want to introduce a real democratic system in Poland, we have to renovate local self-administration. So far the communities are considered part of the state administration in Poland.

DIE PRESSE: The Communists will probably take over important ministries in the new Cabinet—the Interior Ministry, the Defense Ministry, and the Foreign Ministry. Thus, does the Mazowiecki government not really mean a grand coalition in the end, as State President Jaruzelski, for instance, has demanded from the very start?

Stelmachowski: Yes, there is this grand coalition. But there are big differences to the original plans of the Communists. Think of the special situation that exists in all states that are ruled by communists: There is the government, and there is the party's central committee, the actual political center. In Poland the Central Committee has been practically cut off with the new constellation. Mazowiecki, as a man of Solidarity, need not listen to the first secretary. In my view, this separation of government and Central Committee is the most important new thing in the political situation, which is not yet completely clear.

DIE PRESSE: Will a massive presence of Communist Party people in the government not give the population the impression that Solidarity has made too many concessions to the Communists?

Stelmachowski: These accusations have already been made. My colleagues in Parliament have also expressed this concern. But one must take into consideration that already at the parliamentary elections in June 65 percent of the seats were reserved for the Communist Party and its coalition partners; nevertheless the election result was far-reaching and forced us to make compromises. Now I see a parallel situation: We are forced to form a government of compromise.

Another thing that I consider important is the following: We do not yet know in which way the various political centers of the country can participate in solving the problems. Perhaps we have to establish some sort of Presidential Council or something else—a body in which the representatives of various political centers cooperate. Because we have the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Solidarity, with its charismatic leader Lech Walesa, the government, a president with far-reaching authority, and Parliament. It is not yet clear how all these centers could be joined.

DIE PRESSE: What do you think will be the first issue the Mazowiecki government will have to tackle first to make the people feel that a new wind is blowing?

Stelmachowski: Of course, the main task is to overcome the economic problems. This also harbors the biggest

dangers to the Mazowiecki government, because the people expect a rapid improvement of the economic situation. Of course, every economic reform needs time before it has any effect. Nevertheless, the people will give the Mazowiecki government some trust in advance when they see that it is tackling the problems energetically.

DIE PRESSE: One of the first spectacular steps of the new Senate was the condemnation of the military intervention by five Warsaw Pact states in the CSSR in 1968. Official Prague did not like to hear this and spoke of an "incompetent statement" and "interference in internal affairs."

Stelmachowski: This was not interference in the CSSR's internal affairs. Polish troops also participated in the military intervention, and therefore it also affects us. And I think that the participation in the 1968 invasion was shameful for Poland. We had to clearly tell the Czech and the Slovak people that we condemn the events of 1968 and that we are generally against military interventions. And we had to tell them that we want an improvement in relations; after all, we are neighbors and Slavs. Governments change but peoples remain the same. Concerning Prague's official reaction: CSSR society, too, is better informed today. It knows our statement and is very well able to judge it. [passage omitted]

Mazowiecki Talks to Minor Political Leaders

AU0709114589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 5 Sep 89 p 2

[PAP headline: "Premier Mazowiecki Holds Talks"]

[Text] On 4 September Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers, held a meeting with Lech Walesa, chairman of the "Soldarity" independent and self-governing trade union. Matters pertaining to the formation of a government were discussed during the meeting.

On 4 September, as part of the consultative meetings on the formation of a new government, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the following persons at a joint meeting: Zenon Komender, chairman of the PAX Association, and Jozef Wojcik, chairman of the PAX Deputies Club; Kazimierz Morawski, president of the Christian-Social Union, and Tadeusz Nowacki, chairman of the Christian-Social Union Deputies Club; and Wieslaw Gwizdz, president of the National Board of the Polish Catholic-Social Union and Stefania Czupala-Kologa, secretary of the Polish Catholic-Social Union Deputies Club. The talks were attended by Jacek Ambroziak, undersecretary of state in the Office of the Council of Ministers.

These are some of the things that a PAP journalist was told after the meeting by some of those who had talked to the premier:

Zenon Komender: The tasks facing the new government were the main topic that we discussed, and we also talked about the appointment of ministers, but to a lesser extent. We talked at length about an exceptionally important issue, that is, the formulation of the new government's program. We had an opportunity to raise certain issues, and we particularly underscored the importance of social policy and everything connected with the need to step up action geared toward improving social conditions in a broad sense and eliminating the difficulties experienced in day-to-day life, which is something that the public is very eagerly awaiting. We did, of course, also talk about PAX Association participation in the new government. It is quite natural that we should do this at the present time, as we are seeing the emergence of prospects not only for the formation of a governing team, but also for the development of a broad pool of personnel who will work in various institutions, both governmental and nongovernmental, which will be involved in this process.

Kazimierz Morawski: We discussed issues relating to what Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki intends to do and to his program. We made certain observations that stressed the need to accord appropriate attention to religious and national minorities. We indicated what our thoughts were on the structure of the future Council of Ministers. I think that we will support this government in various ways, both in the Sejm and in our social and political activities. How we behave toward the Council of Ministers will depend on the program and on the people who will make up the council.

Wieslaw Gwizdz: We set out the Polish Catholic-Social Union viewpoint on many social issues that should be the subject of government interest. We did not focus on the personnel composition of the government, but talked in great depth about many issues that concern all of society today and should be reflected in government action.

Miller Urges Compromise on Key Ministries

PM0709115089 Paris LIBERATION in French 4 Sep 89 p 21

[Interview with Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Secretary Leszek Miller by Veronique Soule; date, place not given]

[Excerpt] Warsaw—[introductory passage omitted] LIBERATION: How many ministries is the Party entitled to expect?

Leszek Miller: Our position is as follows: We want to support the Mazowiecki cabinet. We are not in favor of its failure or of a policy of exploiting others' misfortune. This would be harmful to both them and us. If the prime minister wants us to take on a share of the responsibility our participation must be proportionate to our political strength.

LIBERATION: Some people within Solidarity are demanding a combination of forces within the two ministries to which you lay claim—Defense and the Interior.

Leszek Miller: First, nobody disputes the fact that these ministries are our due. When the communists were in government in France nobody considered giving them Defense and the Interior. So it is a starting point from which we are negotiating our participation. Nevertheless it would be possible to envisage some kind of combination—for instance, whereby the interior minister's work is coordinated by a parliamentary committee comprising all the forces represented in the Sejm.

LIBERATION: Is a compromise possible on the two most disputed ministries—Foreign Affairs and Information?

Leszek Miller: A compromise is always possible. For instance, our foreign minister, Olechowski, could stay where he is, flanked by a secretary of state from another party.

LIBERATION: How much support will the communist party grant the Mazowiecki government?

Leszek Miller: We are still awaiting its platform. We will see it when the government presents itself to parliament. Then we will hold a Central Committee plenum at which we will determine our position.

LIBERATION: What do you see as the Mazowiecki government's advantages and handicaps?

Leszek Miller: As far as I am concerned, the population's attitude is the chief problem. They are not prepared for sacrifices. For our Solidarity comrades all strikes used to be a good thing: The national flags were brought out and it was a party. Now they are saying that strikes are bad, but you cannot change people's attitude overnight. Everyone—both the communist party and Solidarity—must work to shape a new attitude.

LIBERATION: What about the government's advantages?

Leszek Miller: It enjoys the support of all parties, the church, and Solidarity. It remains to be seen how long this can last. Several months? Hitherto it has never lasted that long: For instance, Premier Rakowski's appointment prompted enthusiasm for 2-3 months, but then that was that. Soon Mazowiecki will also come up against the Solidarity radicals, especially if he decides to restructure the major industries such as mining.

LIBERATION: What will be the attitude of the nomenklatura, and especially of enterprise managers?

Leszek Miller: It will be comparable to that of the trade unionists. The managers will want to defend their interests. Hitherto Solidarity has said that the country was split in two, with the nation on one side and the government on the other. Very soon Solidarity will realize that the dividing line lies not there but between opposing vested interests, such as those of the farmers and the workers.

LIBERATION: What do you think of Solidarity's desire to oust the party from the factories?

Leszek Miller: I agree, as long as Solidarity leaves too. Is Solidarity not a political force? We should do what is done in several other countries, where no organizations are established in the factories.

LIBERATION: You have the Interior and Defense Ministries and also the presidency of the Republic, which carries major powers. You are have made a good deal.

Leszek Miller: These two ministries certainly are important but they do not determine economic development or living standards, which is what shapes opinion. The economy is now the key sector. Furthermore the president will not represent the interests of a single party. So I would not say that we have made a good deal...

LIBERATION: What is the mood within the Party?

Leszek Miller: Unanimity can now only be found in the cemetery. As within society, there are differing opinions. According to some embittered and frustrated people we have made a terrible mistake and the country is on the verge of disaster. However, the majority believe that we are embarking on something new and that we will transform the party, turn it into a modern party capable of winning within the framework of normal parliamentary interplay.

LIBERATION: What impact could your experiment have on the rest of the socialist bloc?

Leszek Miller: We do not often regard ourselves as messiahs here, as though everything revolved around us. Indeed we are not even a small elephant but just a big mouse. I believe that our experiments are examined almost everywhere, but everyone is entitled to follow them or not. Those who want to follow us, so much the better; and those who do not, never mind.

LIBERATION: You are smiling and seem pleased. WHat is the reason for your good humor?

Leszek Miller: I believe that the country is moving in the right direction. Of course we cannot exclude any possibility, including that of an uncontrolled social explosion. That would mean the eclipse for several years of the policy of reforms and pluralism.

LIBERATION: Do you believe that the Party has a chance in the free elections planned for 4 years' time?

Leszek Miller: Yes, because everyone will win something. How much? That is unknown. But Solidarity's predominance will not be repeated. That was only possible once, with the surge of enormous hopes.

PZPR Floor Group's Relations Discussed

LD0709202689 Warsaw PAP in English
1528 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 7—"Some say that there is a split within the PUWP [Polish United Workers' Party] Deputies' Floor Group, that the party authorities boss the deputies around and that the deputies are passive in the Sejm. What do you say about it," PAP asked deputy leader of the PUWP Deputies' Floor Group Ludwik Bernacki who answered:

"The group's meetings are neither orderly nor dominated by the Central Committee. We have been putting it clearly from the very beginning that we want to participate in making the party's line. And how we manage it is quite another story. There are certain difficulties in the contacts between the committee and the club—this is a fact—but one can't say that the club is disintegrating or splitting into fractions. There are, naturally, impatient deputies who cannot withstand the pressure and want to accelerate the changes. For instance, 15 PUWP deputies lodged with the Sejm speaker a motion to wipe off the constitutional provision on the leading role of the PUWP, but on the same day the whole club accepted the change of the constitution as justified.

"We are still striving for a clearly defined place in the whole party structure. We think that we should have a permanent place in the structure of the party authorities, as deputies of the most numerous floor group, "Bernacki said.

The deputy also stressed a number of bills lodged by the PUWP deputies. The parliament has already started work on a few of some 30 PUWP-proposed bills, such as the bill on political parties, he underlined.

Candidate Hearing Held

LD0709164489 Warsaw PAP in English
1550 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 7—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] parliamentary floor group is conducting hearings on candidates for ministers. In the afternoon it heard Czeslaw Kiszczak, a candidate for vice premier and minister of internal affairs, and Florian Siwicki, a candidate for minister of national defence. Both condition their participation in Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government upon approval of the party authorities and the PUWP parliamentary floor group.

Both candidates delivered statements and replied to questions for nearly 4 hours. The floor group then granted its recommendation for Kiszczak and Siwicki after a vote.

In the afternoon the floor group is to hear out other party candidates. At issue are people to whom Premier Mazowiecki proposed portfolios: the Ministry of Transportation and Foreign Economic Relations.

Bentkowski Comments on ZSL Candidates

LD0709205489 Warsaw PAP in English
1926 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 7—The United Peasant Party [UPP] Parliamentary Floor Group held a closed-door meeting today.

Asked by PAP after the meeting what was the topic of the meeting Chairman of the Floor Group Aleksander Bentkowski stated that he presented Premier Mazowiecki's proposals of four ministries for the UPP: agriculture, environment protection, health, and justice. We propose that the portfolio of minister of agriculture and at the same time vice premier be entrusted to Kazimierz Olesiak, the ministry of health to Andrzej Kosiniak-Kamysz, environment protection to Bronislaw Kaminski. I have received a proposal to take over the Ministry of Justice, Bentkowski told PAP.

Asked whether it was true that the post of minister of agriculture stirred up the greatest controversy, Bentkowski replied:

I think that there should not be any controversies. Nonetheless, the GAZETA WYBORCZA has recently written regarding Olesiak's candidature that this was a man from Rakowski's disgraced team. This is not however a serious argument. At today's meeting the floor group adopted a resolution unequivocally backing Olesiak for the post of vice premier, and minister of agriculture, forestry and the food economy, deeming that he is the most worthy of holding this post. We think that he initiated marketization and shares a large chunk of responsibility for its introduction. He should continue his concept and only after some time will we be able to call him to account for what he did, Bentkowski said.

The UPP floor group will firmly stick to its stand, proceeding from the assumption that if it is to be in the coalition and receives certain portfolios, then it is the UPP which fills them. The UPP does not interfere into the Citizen's Floor Group's (choice) of candidates.

Asked whether Premier Mazowiecki also spoke with other candidates for vice premier and minister of agriculture, deputy Bentkowski stated that he also met with Czeslaw Janicki, a professor at the Agriculture Academy in Poznan.

Solidarity Spokesman on Floor Group Meeting

LD0709194689 Warsaw PAP in English
1810 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 9—The Presidia of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group and the National Executive Committee of the Solidarity held here today their first joint meeting, behind closed doors.

Lech Walesa's press spokesman Piotr Nowina-Konopka, reporting on the course of the meeting, said that "it is necessary for both these centres to find a certain model

for cooperation in the political situation that is forming in Poland and in the new systemic situation

"Today's meeting consisted of two parts—the public one, at which the Solidarity press and radio were present, and the part during which they were absent," the spokesman said.

Deputy Juliusz Braun of the Citizen's Group told newsmen that "the floor group is obliged to revise the character of its work both in the Sejm and the Senate now, when the government formed by the Solidarity starts working. This concerns primarily legislative initiatives. We thought that it would be more advantageous to use mostly the Senate for this purpose. In the present situation it will play rather its classic, constitutional role of supervising the whole of the legislative work. The citizen's floor group, however, should launch more legislative initiative as to current economic issues than before.

"Among the most urgent issues Braun mentioned the so-called first minimum of constitutional amendments, abolishing the law on government special powers during implementing economic reform, counteracting appropriation of national property by various companies and amending the law on trade unions.

"A proposal to appoint a joint liaison committee of the Citizens' Floor Group and the Solidarity executive Committee was put forward today," Nowina-Konopka added.

Kiszczak on Changes in Internal Affairs Ministry

LD0709234389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Excerpts] the lack of final personnel decisions meant that the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] deputies floor group met with only two candidates for minister posts today: Czeslaw Kiszak, proposed as deputy premier and minister of internal affairs; and Florian Siwicki, candidate for minister of national defense. [passage omitted]

Czeslaw Kiszczak emphasises that the Ministry of Internal Affairs must adapt itself to those changes which have taken placed on the country's political scene. A series of unnecessary actions must be eliminated. The ministry should be brought closer to society. From this arises the intention to appoint a sociopolitical council under the minister of internal affairs. Czeslaw Kiszczak spoke in favor of retaining the Voluntary reserve of the Civic Militia [ORMO]. Taking a stance on one of the questions, he declared that he will try to be a loyal deputy premier and minister of internal affairs in Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government. Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's mission is a matter for all Poles; it is everyone's business to support this government. [passage omitted]

Sejm Committees To Review Cabinet Candidates

LD0709210589 Warsaw PAP in English 1940 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept 7—In tune with the Sejm speaker's announcement, all Sejm committees have been called for sessions, to be held on September 8, 9 and 10 to review candidates for ministers in the cabinet being formed by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

The debate on the candidates will precede a plenary session of the Sejm to be held on September 12.

Christian Socialists Support Mazowiecki

LD0709205989 Warsaw PAP in English 1938 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 7—The parliamentary floor group of the Christian Social Union (CHSU) met here today to review matters pertaining to the nomination of a new cabinet by the Sejm. The CHSU caucus confirmed its support for Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki while stressing that the caucus will assume its stance on the proposed composition of the cabinet after getting acquainted with every candidature and with the premier's expose.

The CHSU parliamentary floor group considered its approach to the point of the regulations concerning the election of the government. It came out in favour of separate voting for each candidate.

CHSU deputies expressed concern over the skyrocketing costs and the deteriorating living standard of Polish families. They expressed hope that the new government will soon take up moves to arrest the dangerous socio-economic phenomena.

PZPR CC Secretary Rakowski on Party Role

AU0509095589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2-3 Sep pp 1, 4

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Polish United Workers Party Central Committee first secretary, by unidentifed PAP correspondent; date and place not given]

[Text][Question] The previous opposition and the United Peasant Party [ZSL] and the Democratic Party [SD] are repeatedly making statements about the division of government portfolios. Why is the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] silent?

[Answer] Everyone acts according to his convictions. I am not a supporter of public speculation on the subject of sharing ministerial portfolios before Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki presents to the PZPR leadership his concept of our participation in his government. Only then will we be in a position to present our stance to the public. If the proposals do not come up to our expectations, the PZPR will take only those government posts which are linked with the state's internal and external security and will go over to constructive opposition.

[Question] What would this involve?

[Answer] It would involve criticism of the government's actions. This is not too difficult a task, because the opposition taught us how it should be done. It would, however, be the end of the roundtable philosophy, the fiasco of the idea of pooling efforts to promote political and economic reforms. We have already said: as much coresponsibility as there is coparticipation.

[Question] In addition to the government's work, there is discussion of the composition of the radio committee.

[Answer] This matter too will demonstrate whether the opposition is striving for genuine pluralism. I would like to add that in the current radio and television programming, even the most vigilant monopoly-watcher will not find such a thing.

[Question] Do you remain optimistic in view of these unknown factors?

[Answer] Yes. It is outright fatalism to assume that in every historic moment, when great new opportunities for Poland appear, they have to be squandered by people in a fever of excitement, overestimating their strength, going to extremes. This, unfortunately, continually repeats itself. If, for instance, in 2 years' time, Poland as a state is at odds with her neighbors, deprived of a real economic back-up in the East—I am thinking of the thousand threads linking our economy to CEMA countries—exposed to haggling of the neighboring powers or further discussion about Poland without Poland, then the real achievements of the 45 years of the government of the left will have been wasted.

[Question] What are your grounds for such predictions?

[Answer] Two days ago, Radio Free Europe reported a statement by a Polish politician, published in the SUDDEUTSCHEZEITUNG, declaring that Poland did not intend to leave the Warsaw Pact but, in response to questions by newsmen the politician said: You would like to have everything at once. You would like us to leave the Warsaw Pact and go over to the U.S. camp. One after the other, just calmly. Today, Poland cannot just leave. We cannot even think of it today. I am worried by such a profession of faith today, for, after all, in Moscow, Berlin and Prague, our allies can read it like this: The opposition says, now we stay in the Pact, but gradually we will strive for a change in this sphere. Even if this answer was not thought out properly, I do not think that anyone who reaches for joint power in Poland should undermine the principles on which national security has been based for 4 decades. Regarding membership in the Warsaw Pact and remaining a member of the community of socialist states, every Polish politician can choose between a realistic or a suicidal attitude.

[Question] The next question: You are accused, as the PZPR leader, of argumentativness and of a conservative attitude not in harmony with your reforming past.

[Answer] As for argumentativeness, I do not think that is a cardinal sin. But it is a fact that I do not abuse this quality, and I treat even brutal attacks on me calmly. I have quite simply realized that it is not worth my while indulging in fisticuffs with some gentlemen. On the subject of the conservative attitude, I can just say that in my long years in the party, I have been accused of social-democratism, revisionism, pro-Western orientation and ideological pragmatism, technocratism, philosemitism—I am thinking of March 1968, when POLITYKA did not take part in the anti- Zionist campaign—and whatever else you like. Now, suddenly, I have become for some people a hard-liner [beton], because I'm not flirting with the opposition and I am defending the dignity and standing of my party.

[Question] But it is not you, but other activists who are making public statements in favor of a change of name and for a radical renewal and modernization of the party.

[Answer] The fact that I do not make public statements about this every other day does not mean that I am opposed to fundamental changes in the PZPR, which will decide on the party's significance and role in the state for many years to come. From the moment the Central Committee entrusted the post of first secretay to me, my sense of responsibility, particularly in matters affecting the party, had to grow. I am in favor of discussing what should be changed in the party but at the same time I do not think it is the moment for a family quarrel, for intrigue, for fighting among ourselves, for seeking the support of other political forces, for making one's own career in PZPR colors; for questioning the leadership of the party, which was supported a month ago.

The crew of a leaky boat should make it really watertight, for if it locks horns, the boat will sink and the crew with it. Now, the party must cooperate above all to stabilize the new political situation and the structure of the authorities, and only afterwards tackle its own evolution. I am in favor of a fundamental reconstruction of the PZPR and I can only stand at the head of that process. In 1956, I published an article on reform in the party entitled Disturbing Questions, for which I got it in the neck.

I am for a party representing the socialism of the future. The PZPR should support the economic reforms in their most radical variant possible. It should be a party which is the driving force behind the most modern economic and social solutions. I am for a party which supports the desires of young people, of the avant- garde of customs and culture.

I think that in the debate about the party, we also have to take into consideration that the potential of traditionalism is presently growing in Poland.

Popular now are views based on the march backwards in the direction of smugness and 19th century capitalism. We are observing a fascination with the past and the

digging up of long dead and obsolete political formations. It is also not difficult to perceive the employment of populist and egalitarian platitudes, slogans which, basically, are anti-civilizational. We are threatened with intolerance and decay. In such a situation, the party of the modern left, the party of realists, the party of matter-of-fact men of action, the party of competent and capable people, has a future ahead of it. We must create such a party. Such a party has a chance of drawing young people to it.

The political formation about which I speak will be totally de- Stalinized. It must be able to win elections, develop and rationalize democracy. The political formation must not be just the inheritor of the strands which make up the present PZPR. It must be open to alliance with forces striving toward similar things, which are also active in the previous opposition. We must tell those future partners that for years and years, they were right for a good deal of the time. We owe them that. I do not rule out that such an unambiguous statement will diminish the outdated, but still existing, chasm. As I have said many times already, I am in favor of cooperation with the previous opposition. Cooperation does not rule out conflict. The opposition cannot keep on fighting a PZPR which already belongs to the past. The PZPR has achieved a bold leap towards the future, and is striving toward its renaissance. The road will be difficult and rugged, but nothing that is desired or great comes easy.

Orzechowski Speaks on PZPR Role in Government

LD0709180989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] The PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Parliamentary Floor Group is holding debates. Deputies have given their support to the candidates for the posts of deputy premier and minister of internal affairs—Czeslaw Kiszczak, and minister of national defense—Florian Siwicki.

(Magdalena Wieniarczyk) has been talking to Marian Orzechowski, chairman of the floor group.

[(Wieniarczyk)] All day today the PZPR Parliamentary Floor Group has been holding debates, but, in the meantime, you, sir, have held a further meeting with Premier Mazowiecki. May we have a few details?

[Orzechowski] Details—no, but the talks have ended. I cannot give you any details until the list has been officially handed to the Sejm. Something could change during these few hours.

The participation of the PZPR in the government has been settled, only some personnel details remain.

[(Wieniarczyk)] But do you confirm what you were saying this morning at the floor group's meeting that the PZPR will take over the Ministry of Transport—in its broadest sense—and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation?

[Orzechowski] I confirm this, I confirm it. Nothing more can be said at this time, since the discussions are still continuing at the moment, consultations are still continuing, some people who were suggested for certain posts are abroad—they will arrive this evening; the premier is still to talk to them. I would not like, quite simply, to talk about things which have not been agreed upon, and not entirely cleared up yet.

[(Wieniarczyk)] Well, in that case, just a last question: yesterday you told me that the matter of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs remains.

[Orzechowski] Well, this matter has been agreed as well. But I do not wish—I cannot give you any definitive agreements, but it has been agreed between us and the premier.

Senate President Views Solidarity's New Role

AU0709225589 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 7 Sep 89 p 2

[Interview with Andrzej Stelmachowski, president of the Polish Senate, by Anton A. Sibielak in Vienna on 6 September: "We Are Under Constant Pressure From Our Voters"]

[Text] DER STANDARD: Mr Senate President, you have come to Vienna as the guest of the Austrian Federal Council. Did you also discuss some of Poland's specific economic questions?

Stelmachowski: No, we discussed topical tasks and the future cooperation between the two parliamentary chambers. We also expressed thanks for all Austrian initiatives which have helped us gain a special status in the European Council.

DER STANDARD: Poland's new parliament is no longer an office which serves power. But there are also conflicts that arise from your parliamentary task to harmonize the principles with everyday political requirements.

Stelmachowski: Certainly, we are forced to make compromises every day. I also know this from my own painful experience. When we found out during the presidential elections that Jaruzelski might lose, some parliamentarians, including myself, deliberately handed in invalid votes (which had a favorable effect for Jaruzelski—the editors). This was the only way to master an imminent state crisis. We have been harshly criticized for this. However, the parliamentary step has proved to be politically valuable, and General Jaruzelski has also gone through a positive evolution in this respect. The only thing we can do is carry out an evolutionary democratization. Otherwise we would completely lose control.

DER STANDARD: The Senate is like a group of doctors at the bedside of a battered economy that has been sacrificed to politics. However, without a capable government these "Senate doctors" are also paralyzed. How would the new Mazowiecki government have to be composed to be confirmed by the Senate?

Stelmachowski: We are currently trying to help form a coalition government. Whether we see ourselves as a group of doctors?—I think there is one basic difference. Such a group is free of any emotions as a professional necessity, but we cannot completely switch off our emotions. We are under constant pressure from our voters.

DER STANDARD: You are also well known as an agricultural expert. Does this also have an effect on your work in the Senate?

Stelmachowski: Yes, certainly. Within the framework of our economic commission. First, we want to demonopolize the enter agricultural system. This is the main task of our time. Otherwise a real market economy will not develop.

OPZZ Adopts Stance on Sociopolitical Situation

LD0709193389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] The National Trade Union Accord [OPZZ] Executive Committee, adopted a stance on the sociopolitical situation in our country. At a meeting today, the OPZZ Executive Committee insists that political forces making up the new government should acknowledge that its basic task will be to halt the growing impoverishment of our families. The document also proclaims, I quote: In the public assessment, the situation of our country and the systemically deteriorating living standards of our families are the result of erroneous decisions by the economic and political leadership. That is also why the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] has stopped being the political guarantor of the working world. We acknowledge the departure of Alfred Miodowicz from the PZPR Politburo as fully justified.

Seeks Formation of New Front

LD0709235189 Warsaw PAP in English 2217 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 7—The executive committee of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) held a session today. The meeting issued a statement that reads in part:

"Despite our warnings, the so-called marketization was carried out in an un-consulted way and without any preparation. Thus, all mistakes made by the hitherto economic leadership of the country have cumulated. All the time the authorities are passively watching the developments that inevitably lead to another outburst of social protest which will be given our support. That is why we appeal to the Sejm extraordinary commission to take people responsible for those decisions to account.

"In society's assessment, the situation of our country and systematically deteriorating living standards in our families came as a result of wrong decisions by the economic and political leadership. That is why the leadership of the Polish United Workers Party ceases to be a political guarantor of the interests of the working people. We recognize Alfred Miodowicz's resignation from the PUWP CC Political Bureau membership as fully justified."

The OPZZ Executive Committee resolved to hold its next session the day after Prime Minister Mazowiecki presents his program in order to work out an appropriate stand and take possible moves.

After the end of the meeting, in a talk with TV main news bulletin reporter, OPZZ Vice-Chairman Jerzy Uzieblo referred to demands by grassroot trade unionists who suggest that their own political base should be set up.

"We do not intend to form a party," he said, "but we would like to gather all pro-socialist and democratic elements around us as a movement that could be called a front for the renewal, or given any other name according to members' wishes," he said.

Daily on Patience With Economic Change

LD0409172889 Warsaw PAP in English 1355 GMT 4 Sep 89

[Text] Warsaw, Sept. 4—Today's GAZETA WYBORCZA carries an article signed by "G.L." on Tadeusz Mazowiecki's programme. Excerpts:

"The economy is slipping out of control. We are on the verge of hyperinflation, as it can be observed even from today's price hikes. This means that activities of Premier Mazowiecki's government must be firm, quick and deep.

"Hyperinflation can be eliminated only through the introduction of a programme of deep changes. It will take several weeks for Mazowiecki's government to prepare such programme and it must be the most important task of the team responsible for the economy.

"These changes must end the printing of money, end the discrimination of the private sector, bring about demonopolization and reprivatization of state enterprises. At the same time, the programme must also protect pensioners and other poorest groups. It will be necessary to assure Western financial support, thus talks with the International Monetary Fund and foreign creditors must be undertaken immediately.

"Until the new programme will not [as received] be ready, we will suffer due to the policy pursued by the government, which in fact ceased to exist due to the breakdown of the economic system.

"Our hopes are not in magic tricks but in a programme of changes on historic scale prepared by the new government. Thus several weeks of patience are necessary," concludes "G.L." in GAZETA WYBORCZA.

Jaruzelski Addresses Historian Congress

LD0709134489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Excerpts] And now a despatch from Lodz. Pawel Jedras on the line.

[Jedras] The 14th general Congress of Polish Historians has begun debates in Lodz. [passage omitted] President of the Polish People's Republic, Wojciech Jaruzelksi, attended the opening ceremony of the congress. Speaking to the participants he said:

[Begin Jaruzelski recording] I stand before those who know our past perfectly, but at the same time who know well that there are no chapters in history which are closed, like medieval books. In almost each one of them one can find something pertinent to contemporary times. We must remember this, especially today because we live at a turning-point time, at a time of great opportunities, but also at a time of great dangers.

What will the future be like then? Let us look into it together, let us draw lessons from all pages of our history, let us make every effort to make them the property of the whole nation, a creative inspiration, a stable element of Poles' social consciousness.

In Poland there have always been matters which seemed to contemporaries to be most important but which, in the course of time, have been losing their significance. Throughout the centuries, however, awareness has always been alive that there are, and will remain, matters surpassing the fate of each one of us. [end recording]

[Jedras] This morning a letter from Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the participants of the congress was also read out. [passage omitted: details of today's agenda]

Citizens Militia Reserve Under Threat

AU0809085189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4 Sep 89 pp 1, 3

[Report signed 'emer': "Let Those Whom We Serve Decide On Our Usefulness"]

[Text] "The question of whether we should be defending the case for the further existence of the Citizens Voluntary Militia Reserve [ORMO] is questionable. We work socially and for free. Would not such defense sound strange? One thing is not in doubt, namely, that the defense of our organization should be undertaken by those whom we help. On the one side this means the public, and on the other it means, without doubt, the premier, the minister of internal affairs, the voivodas, and directors of factories...."

These were the sort of dramatic pronouncements that were heard at Monday's [4 September] meeting, which was the second meeting this year of ORMO's National Social Committee. The meeting had on its agenda the review of ORMO's activity in the first half of this year, but it cannot be denied that the discussions were dominated by a fundamental question: To be or not to be....

In August, 18 deputies from the Citizens Parliamentary Club initiated a statutory measure paving the way for the preparation of a parliamentary bill for the Sejm marshal's consideration, with the aim of repealing the "13 June 1967, ORMO Act"—in a nutshell, to dissolve this body.

During the meeting, some members of the National Social Committee argued that it was obvious from the parliamentary debate that the deputies in question knew very little about ORMO. This state of affairs was also partly the fault of the press, it was maintained, because it wrote very infrequently and sparingly about ORMO's organization.

ORMO has been in existence since 1946. It is a voluntary body, working for society. ORMO units work everywhere—in towns, rural areas, on railway property and land, and so on. They work independently, or in conjunction with regular police units, enforcing the law, protecting property, and keeping public order. In 1989 ORMO had 328,510 members. Close to 60 percent are workers, and about 20 percent are from the intelligentia. Some are party members, others are not.

During a typical year ORMO performs about 11 million duty assignments. Last year it was responsible for arresting 12,000 serious offenders and apprehended 371,000 petty criminals. It arrested over 24,000 drunken drivers.

"In the first half of 1989 we have already performed 5 million duty assignments, and apprehended 4,000 serious offenders as well as following up 139,000 minor offences" stated Colonel Henryk Nasilkowski, ORMO's commander in chief. "Over 500,000 people are apprehended for various offences per annum. In the light of these figures it is hard to believe that anybody could believe that ORMO is no longer needed. I find it astounding to learn that these deputies consider ORMO to be 'an organization alien to Polish society.' The authors of the resolution obviously do not realize that ORMO is a body acting in the interests of society, and that the dissolution of this organization may be interpreted by the public as a sign of disregard for public law and order. Who would be able to fill the gap afterwards, and how would it be done?" he asked.

The parliamentary deputies from the Citizens Parliamentary Club wrote the following in their draft: "the cost of ORMO (...) which comes from the budget of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, would be returned to the minister of finance." During the National Social Committee discussion, it became apparent that ORMO receives Z700 million annually, which is a negligible sum

compared to the important question of public law and order. Other sections in the draft document, as well as the reasoning behind them, were also criticized by the committee. During the meeting it became clear that ORMO does not have any means of transport and communications; only 15 percent of the members had uniforms; no uniforms had been ordered in the last 2 years; and that it was not true that ORMO personnel carried firearms, truncheons, or helmets.

Some resolutions were also passed by the committee, namely, that the president, the premier, the future minister of internal affairs, the party, and the voivodas should all have a say on this issue. Additionally, it was agreed that ORMO would have to change its present structure. This had to be changed, just as its constitution had to change. Transformations would have to be deeper than mere cosmetic change. ORMO's name might also have to be changed to reflect its social character, for example, the Citizens Social Order Service. After all, similar organizations exist in other countries, regardless of their political system....

The members of the ORMO National Social Committee resolved to protest most strongly against the draft bill proposed by the deputies of the Citizens Parliamentary Club. "The project of the Citizens Parliamentary Club deputies is an attempt to dictate politically against society's democratic forms of self-defense. It is also a manifest example of the tendencies that clearly strike at the proclaimed principles of democratization of social life in our country. The National Social Committee believes it crucial that in the new sociopolitical and economic situation, steps should be taken to consider the organization's basis of activity with the aim of widening its social relevance by, among other things, making the organization subject to the widest possible social controls."

The debates of the National Social Committee were led by its chairman, Wladyslaw Jonkisz.

Glemp on Auschwitz Carmelite Convent

LD0409101789 Warsaw PAP in English 1651 GMT 3 Sep 89

[Text] Rome, Sept. 3—Two Rome-based dailies, "IL MESSAGGERO" and "LA REPUBBLICA" carry nearly identical replies given by Poland's primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp to questions about the Carmelite convent in Oswiecim.

The primate stated that the problem caused by the presence of this convent "will be surely solved. All that is needed is peace and consideration, while some Jewish circles got carried away."

The head of the Polish Church expressed a conviction that demands to make the Carmelite nuns leave their convent in Oswiecim were not the right stance because "it is difficult to understand who could take offence at the fact that the nuns pray alongside the former death camp's wall...anyhow, our people do not understand that."

Cardinal Glemp expressed a view that the agreement in Geneva under which the Carmelite convent was to be moved from where it is "must once again be subject of negotiations, conducted in peace, without haste, in a competent manner, with the participation of a broader group of representatives of our country."

The Geneva agreement envisaged that the Carmelite convent would be moved from the site adjacent to the Auschwitz death camp to a centre of ecumenical dialogue and prayer expected to be built. Asked about this, the primate expressed a conviction that the commitments made in Geneva took no account of the costs. Meanwhile, the construction would be very costly, there is no money so far and Polish society, in the midst of a severe economic crisis, is not capable of erecting such a centre which would cost at least 2 million dollars.

Cardinal Glemp also stressed that irrespectively of the polemics around the location of the convent, he was and remains an advocate of friendly relations with representatives of Judaism, Polish inclusive.

A statement was issued in Paris by three cardinals: Albert Decourtray, the chairman of the episcopate of France and archbishop of Lyon, Godfried Danneels, the archbishop of Brussels, and Jean-Marie Lustiger, the archbishop of Paris who spoke out in favour of observing the reached agreement.

Commentary on 'Erosion' of Nonaligned Movement

AU0809104789 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 6 Sep 89 p 7

[Wojciech Gielzynski commentary: "The Erosion of a Movement"]

[Text] For over a dozen years the "Nonaligned" Movement has been turning into a movement that is very much "aligned" indeed—toward the east. Will the Ninth Summit in Belgrade succeed in gathering the movement back into the fold and suggest new ideas for this flimsy, asthmatic structure?

The bombastic tone that usually accompanies the debates of these countries, most of them new to the political scene, must be abandoned. The credit of interest and sympathy previously granted to them has been exhausted. Instead, the summit is accompanied by irony and impatience.

When the Nonaligned Movement was formed 3 decades ago at the memorable Bandung conference in 1955, its sponsors were excellent, though controversial, politicians like Nehru, the liberator of India; Nasser, the great man on the Nile; Sukarno, the creator of Indonesia; and Tito, who rescued Yugoslavia from Stalin. Two supreme principles illuminated the movement then—to put an

end to the scandal of colonialism and to find for fledgling countries a "middle way" between the giants that were dominating the globe and waging a cold war.

Colonialism vanished. The Nonaligned Movement contributed to this by arousing a "world conscience." The cold war turned into armed peace and shaky coexistence between countries. As a result, the Nonaligned Movement lost its chief objectives and began to think of alternative ones. More than anything else, it invented the idea of altering the global economic relations between the north and south, adopting the beliefs of another group of countries called the "Group of 77."

Unfortunately, noble intentions assumed the form of grotesque pretenses. Instead of seeking ways of coexistence with the developing countries, the Nonaligned Movement called for a struggle against neocolonialism, even though neocolonialism was in decline due to structural changes inside capitalism. The nonsensical doctrine of the "center and the periphery" was adopted as the chief explanation for the unfortunate situation of the backward countries, and was accepted as the theoretical basis for the grievances of Third World countries. Tendencies to voice claims (for "claims" read "confrontation") reached a peak with the appearance of a "Third World ideology" based on a xenophobia toward the West and an artificial superiority complex of the Third World vis-a-vis the West.

In the meantime, the Nonaligned Movement began courting the east more and more. A grotesque situation occurred at the Sixth Summit in Havana in 1979: the summit's host and movement's leader was none other than Fidel Castro, whose armies were fighting on several African fronts, and whose special forces were trying to arrange "progressive revolutions" in Latin America, acting on Soviet instructions, as it were.

Under Cuba's aegis, the Nonaligned Movement collapsed into factions—a pro-Soviet majority, a faction which struggled in vain to readopt the ideals of Bandung (Tito), and a small group of pro-Western countries headed by the microscopic Singapore.

During the 1980's, the Nonaligned Movement simply lapsed into oblivion. Many world conflicts began to be solved without its participation (Afghanistan, Angola, Iraq-Iran, Cambodia). In the economic sphere, the "new order" called for by poor countries never materialized. In any case, many of these countries, especially in Asia, no longer hold "undeveloped" status—not because they have overcome capitalism, but because they have adopted free market mechanisms. However, not every country is capable of achieving that; therefore the old principle of finding a "third way" is still valid.

It seems that in Belgrade an awareness of the need to abandon "Third World (in other words, anti-Western) ideology" and restore an alleged nonalignment is taking shape. If this happens, it will not be thanks to the present leaders of the Third World. It will be thanks to the changing balance of forces in the world and the new policies of the superpowers.

SCINTEIA Notes Leading Role of Party

AU0109132289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1133 GMT 1 Sep 89

["Party Leadership—A Law of Successful Socialist Construction"—Article in the September 1 Issue of Daily SCINTEIA—'EXCERPTS'—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 1/9/1989—The whole experience of the struggle for overthrowing the old system, of the winning of power and building the new system in Romania has demonstrated that the existence and assertion of the leading role of the working class' political party armed with a clear conception relying upon scientific socialism, with a scientific program, and that expresses the people's interests, aspirations and will is an imperative of the unfolding of the revolutionary process, an objective law of socialist and communist construction.

According to the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], the exercise of the party's leading role cannot be arbitrarily confined only to certain spheres of social activity or certain facets of political leadership, as it has a complex, comprehensive character, ensuring the close, organic blending of all components, achieving a full unity between theory and practice, between the elaboration of a general political line and the unfolding of the political- organizational action for its implementation.

The growing leading role of the party, the increase of the responsibility of the party bodies and organizations do not run counter to the development of socialist democracy, to the exercise of the attributions incumbent upon various links of the democratic system. On the contrary, it supports its plenary assertion.

In fulfilling its role and functions, the party does not stand outside or above society, does not work through directives and dispositions but, on elaborating and implementing the general political line through wide consultation with the working people, it gets directly and concretely involved in the whole activity.

It is not fortuituous that the reactionary, imperialist forces, in their fierce struggle against socialism, focus their attacks first of all on the communist parties, on their revolutionary role and character. The theories about the so-called diminution of the party's leading role are of a nature to deprive the society of the most conscientious political force, the most advanced one, armed with the scientific conception about world and life, apt to rally and organize all forces of the nation. Obvious, if the Communist Party did not assume the responsibility for the fulfillment of its revolutionary program in society, a political vacuum would be created that would undoubtedly be filled by other forces.

The Communist Party cannot share and the least so give up its role of leading political force of society, without running the risk of seriously endangering the very cause of socialism, of the people's vital interests. The theses according to which the party should yield a part of its attributions and responsibilities or let itself be substituted by other political forces have nothing to do with the revolutionary theory of the working class, with the principles of scientific socialism, and they are in fact theses advocating capitulation, liquidation, which our party most resolutely rejects.

Intensifying their attacks against the communist parties, the reactionary circles in the capitalist countries work in the current circumstances—the way they did in the past as well—under the slogan of the creation of several parties, yet pursuing the liquidation of the communist parties. Life demonstrates peremptorily, relying on facts, that there can be no other force to fulfill the vital role of the Communist Party.

Likewise, the RCP assesses as extremely dangerous the conceptions according to which the party has to give up its revolutionary character. But to give up the revolutionary way in the epoch of the greatest and most profound social changes and revolutions in human knowledge means to ignore even the objective laws of society's development.

The concept regarding the disappearance in an historic perspective of the Communist Party, articulated by the classics of scientific socialism, refers to the law-like process of passage to the classless society, of raising the whole nation's ideological and political conscience up to the level of the party itself, in conditions in which man's exploitation by man, the reactionary, imperialist forces will be eradicated in the world.

The continuation of the revolutionary process makes of the existence of the single party of the working class, the consolidation of its leading political role, the broad development of the organic link with the people, with all bodies of revolutionary worker democracy an objective necessity in the socialist construction in a current stage and for a long time to come.

Party Newspaper Rejects 'Bourgeois' Democracy

AU0209150489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1015 GMT 2 Sep 89

["Creative Force of Socialist Democracy"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 2/9/1989—Under this title, SCINTEIA of 2 September carries an article which points to the development of the system of revolutionary worker democracy in Romania underlain by the principle of building socialism with the people and for the people. The article reads inter alia:

Relying on its own traditions and experience, on specific realities in Romania, on social development, the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] has always been concerned to develop and improve democracy, has created a genuine system, unique of its kind, which provides for all

working people's participation in drafting socio-economic development programmes, in governing society, for the country's flourishing and prosperity.

The period after the Ninth Party Congress is also the period of building and improving the democratic system of governing the Romanian society.

This period has seen a deep-going transformation and improvement of the representative democracy system. The activity of the Grand National Assembly has been greatly bettered in point of quality and efficiency so as to effectively turn it into a parliament which reflects objectively the country's new social structure.

A beneficial effect on the assertion of democracy in these years has had the introduction of the principle of several nominations for one deputy seat in the system of election of state power bodies.

With the thesis of the construction of socialism with the people and for the people as a basis, the party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu made the profoundly scientific assessment that society cannot be really governed by the people only through the means of representative democracy unless it is completed by a genuine direct participative democracy with its own organisms and structures.

The result of this creative thinking shows in the substantiation of the concept of revolutionary worker democracy which points to the existence of a broad comprehensive political system which for twenty years has provided the framework for the whole people's direct participation in the economic and political management of society.

The system of revolutionary worker democracy operates as a viable system of management, which shows in the results scored in socialist construction. We emphasize this truth as foreign theories pose the necessity of promoting the so-called management based on "privatisation," underestimate the plan as an instrument in the management of the economic activity and there are some who argue that the socialist ownership should be given up which would actually mean that the working class, the people would lose the right to take part in governing society.

There are also voices that do not hesitate in overestimating the experience of the "multi-party democracy" setting forth sententious opinions along this line, as well as in giving pieces of advice to socialist countries that they should learn from this kind of bourgeois democracy which would be, so to say, superior.

Nevertheless, the realities in the capitalist world stand an easy proof, and the essence of society's government through the people and by the people, of an authentic democracy does not lie in the existence of an ever larger number of parties but in the creation of specific, real conditions in which all working people can take an effective part in management, and have access to the fundamental rights necessary for the assertion of human personality. The fact that, owing to its representative and direct democratic bodies, Romania guarantees the participation of the country's citizens in governing society, and in solving all its problems, just as the right to free education, to free medical assistance, to housing, and to rest proves that it boasts an authentic democracy, by far superior to any bourgeois democracy.

The RCP's stance on the "efforts" some well-wishers make to propose "viable" solutions for the socialist countries' economy as well, is particularly clearly expressed in the theses for the 14th Party Congress: the unitary management of economic and social activities on the basis of the single national plan provides for the intertwining of the interests of each collectivity with the general interests of society. The renunciation of the management of socioeconomic development according to a single plan can but lead to the disorganization of activities, to the emergence of contradictions with serious repercussions on the socialist society.

The people's broader participation in running economic and social affairs, in managing society as a whole finds a durable prerequisite in the party's leadership in the conditions of our system. The party's activity in the last few decades since it is headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has been characterized by a profound democratization of its life in its organization and functioning on the basis of democratic principles and norms. So, the improvement and democratization of party's work stands a genuine example for the improvement and management of society.

This process widens and becomes ever more efficient also through the ever deeper, dialectical blending of the party's role with that of the state bodies and of the revolutionary worker democracy organisms. The fact that the party acts within these bodies and organisms and not above them, within them, through the communists' presence both in management and in their structure, and not through administrative directives imparts it a deciding role in the continual improvement of the respective organisms.

In the spirit of such an outlook, the state bodies, the revolutionary worker democracy organisms, the mass and public organizations should show ever greater responsibility in running economic and social affairs and in making it ever more efficient. Because, this does by no means run counter the assertion of the party's leading role, on the contrary it amplifies its calling for a greater responsibility of the party cadres, of all communists for a smooth run of those bodies' work, for a better activity in all domains.

Society Steadily Improves Under Socialism

AU3108121489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1035 GMT 31 Aug 89

["Steady Improvement of the Society—A Law of Socialist Development"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 31/08/1989—In an article on the above theme, the daily of the CC [Central

Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party] writes inter alia in its August 31 issue:

After August 23, 1944, Romania has gone through a profound revolutionary process that has radically changed the whole course of the people's work and life. The winning by the people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, of the political and economic power, the nationalization of the main means of production, in 1948, the passage to agricultural cooperativization in 1949, a process concluded in broade line by 1962, the planned development of the economy, other numerous revolutionary changes ensured the essential requisites for the socialist organization of the Romanian society. But, at the same time, in the specific conditions of the passage to the building of a new society, on a new road, mistakes and abuses were made, that accounted for a brake in the development of socialism in our homeland. The decisive moment that determined, based on a scientific, revolutionary analysis, the removal of dogmatism and conservatorism, of the subservience to everything that was foreign, of the "single model" and other obsolete conceptions, was the 9th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP]. It was at the time that the way of a new, revolutionary thinking was wide open in the Romanian people's history, in the development of the Romanian society. It was at that time that the party and the people were redeemed the feeling of national dignity, of full confidence in their own forces, a new revolutionary strategy of the RCP was articulated, in harmony with the objective, universally valid laws, with the principles of scientific socialism, creatively applied, based on the lessons of the country's history, on domestic realities and advanced, progressive tendencies in international life.

The gist of the new political thinking is the outlook on revolution. The continuity of the revolutionary process was scientifically defined, based on a thorough analysis of internal and international realities as an objective law of socialist construction.

The concept of continuous revolution incorporates also the continuity of the improvement of the whole society.

In the years after the 9th congress, with the decisive contribution of President Nicolae Ceausescu, new outlooks were articulated on the economic development rates; on the unitary leadership of society, based on consolidated socialist property, improved national single plan, steady application of the general law of accumulation; on the need to harmonize various domains of social life, of socialist construction: technical-material, political-ideological, spiritual; on the imperative of increasing the role of the intensive factors in the process of economic growth, of developing the whole society; on securing a new quality of work and life of the whole people. These concepts—and more—were developed in the documents of the party congresses and national conferences, in the program of the Romanian Communist Party of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and the homeland's advance to communism. They were steadily improved, renewed, in keeping with the concrete requirements of one stage or another, with the dynamics of society's development. It is in such circumstances,that Romania has turned from a poorly developed agrarian-industrial country into an industrial-agrarian country with strong and modern industry, organized upon the latest gains of science and technology, with an advanced socialist agriculture in full progress, with a society that is being continuously improved in every domain.

The achievements in Romania after the 9th Congress also demonstrate the viability and legitimacy of socialism as a system of organizing the society. Of course, difficulties and mistakes too, existed in the course of building the new system in Romania. But the RCP did not mistake—and will not mistake ever—the errors, the difficulties, the deviations from the path of socialism for socialism itself. It is on this basis that is it has permanently worked to remove them fast, to ensure the continuity of the process of socialist and communist construction. According to the RCP, the workers cannot yield their right as collective owners in order to let the private property be reinstated. The party cannot yield its role of vital centre of the nation, of leading force in society. The socialist principles cannot yield to the old capitalist principles that have proved their obsolete nature, their failure to harmonize with the peoples' aspirations, with the ideals of progress and social justice. All this is not possible for it would seriously harm the vital interests of the working class, of the people, would practically annul the great socialist gains.

In all years after the 9th Congress, the major force that has ensured at the level of our whole society the steady implemention and creative use of the socialist principles, in Romania's concrete conditions, proved to be the Communist Party. The party itself has changed all along, has steadily improved its activity in order to induce in turn the steady improvement of the whole society. As seen by the RCP, SCINTEIA concludes, the party has the fundamental role to lead the complex process of socialist development of the homeland, without sharing the power with any other political force, yet working in close connection with the working class, with the peasantry and intelligentsia, with the whole people.

Ceausescu Speech Rejects Privatization

AU3008173489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1427 GMT 30 Aug 89

["The Socialist Property the Lasting Foundation of the Homeland's Socio-Economic Progress"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 30/8/1989—Under the generic "The Revolutionary Process and the Lessons of History" "SCINTEIA" of August 30 carries an article under the above headline, showing that the speech

delivered by RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu at the solemn meeting marking the 45th anniversary of the anti-fascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation of August 1944, highlighted the essential, decisive role the socialist ownership of the means of production has had in building the socialist system, in Romania's advance on the road to multilaterally developed socialism, to communism. The RCP general secretary's speech imposes the basic conclusion that the socialist property in its two forms the property of the whole people and the cooperative property makes the foundation upon which the most righteous and best system of all systems in mankind's history has been built in Romania.

The years that have passed since the taking over by the working class, by the working people of the economic power show a perfectly successful historic experience in which the socialist property has more than proved its great energies to boost socio-economic progress, accounting for the dynamizing element of development of the productive forces, the sound foundation of the building of the national economy as a unitary, efficient complex, judiciously structured by branches and territorial units, of raising the whole nation's living standard, of consolidating national sovereignty and independence.

By virtue of this conception, brightly affirmed by the RCP, steady action has been taken in the years after the Ninth RCP Congress for the development of socialist property in its two forms, through the systematic implementation, based on a judicious policy of accumulation, of ample investment programs in view of increasing and updating continuously the publicly owned productive means. In the perspective of the steady development of socialist property, some one-third of the national income was earmarked in the last 24 years to the accumulation fund, a policy that will continue in future as well, together with the development based on the most advanced science and technology. At present, the object of socialist ownership, expressed through the size of the accumulated national wealth is worth 5,177.5 billion lei, meaning a 21 times growth over 1945. As compared with the same year, the capital assets grew some 20-fold, reaching in 1988 almost 3,368 billion lei, about 90 per cent of which was commissioned in the last 24 years. "Had we not done this," stressed President Nicolae Ceausescu in his speech at the solemn meeting, "had we neglected the accumulation and the development fund, Romania would have remained a poorly developed country and now, instead of speaking of grand achievements, we would discuss about how to overcome the difficulties."

The experience of socialist construction in Romania shows with the power of fact it is only upon the foundation of socialist property that have been possible the high-rate development of social production, the overcoming in a relatively short period of time, of the grave economic backwardness inherited from the old bourgeois-landlord system, the plenary assertion of the principles of social ethics and equity.

The Romanian people is fully aware of the fact that the state and cooperative socialist property is what has radically changed the situation of the people in production and society, as well as the union of manpower with the productive means. Manpower has ceased being a merchandise and the productive means are no longer opposed to producers as a wealth that does not belong to them. The establishment of socialist ownership created, for the first time after centuries of work for others, the possibility for man to work for himself. By everything it has achieved, the Romanian people convincingly demonstrates that the "privatization" of the wonderful industrial, agricultural, social constructions it has raised with long efforts, even with sacrifices, is out of question. "Privatization" would mean in fact a return to capitalism. For the Romanian people, capitalism is gone for ever, and its option for socialism is certain and definitive.

Leaving behind with lucid-mindedness and revolutionary daringness the utopian, triumphalist outlook, as well as the simplifying, dogmatic schemes according to which the big advantages offered by socialist ownership would bear fruit of their own accord, the Romanian Communist Party has worked for a renewing approach and settlement of all issues related to the improvement and consolidation of the socialist property the whole people's and cooperative property. Therefore, creatively applying the principles of scientific socialism in keeping with the realities in Romania, the RCP considers that, in any stage of the process of building the new system, the stabilization of the forms or management, organization and planning of the socio-economic activity must start from the application of the socialist principles, from the consolidation of the socialist property as a basis of society's multilateral progress. The development of the economy and the raising of the working people's living standard cannot be ensured without it. President Nicolae Ceausescu showed that one cannot speak of improving socialist construction by renouncing one way or another the basic principles of socialism of the socialist ownership and full equality in relation to the productive means and attempting a return to forms of private ownership. The tendency to idealize the private ownership, the free play of the market relations that inevitably leads to sustaining the diminution of the role of unitary, planned management of the national economy, cannot be a source of progress in the current historical stage.

Socialism cannot be conceived in the absence of the socialist ownership of the productive means. Life itself has proved that the public property, ever larger, ever more up-to-date with every passing five-year period, has in turn asserted itself more and more intensely as a vigorous promoter of socio-economic progress. This dialectical evolution entitles the conclusion that in the process of building the multilaterally developed socialist society and the country's advance to communism, the

role of socialist ownership of the productive means does not decrease, on the contrary, it increases. By virtue of this objective evolution, the RCP starts measures of improvement pursuing, concomitant with the general development of the socialist property the gradual rapprochement of its two forms the whole people's and the cooperative property in point of their socio-economic nature, the diminution of the essential differences between them technical, organizational, economic, social and their union, in the perspective of the passage to communism, into the joint property of the whole people. This is an objective law of development of the socialist property. Its manifestation though, does not entail the narrowing of the concrete forms of the socialist ownership. On the contrary, they will know permanent diversification under the influence of the steady progress of the productive forces, the permanent deepening of the social division of labour, the multiplication of the ties among the various links of the national economy by branch, department and territorial unit, at a micro-, mezo-, and macro-economic level a diversification by which the relations of ownership are plenarily expressed, fully stimulating the socio-economic progress. These processes of revolutionary essence are fully mirrored in the draft master program of the 14th congress of the party, that stipulates wide-scope measures meant to ensure the organic blending of the state and cooperative property in every domain, so that the principles of economy should ever more powerfully assert themselves in economy, in the whole social life.

SCINTEIA Comments on Party Role

AU2808163689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1409 GMT 28 Aug 89

["Fulfillment of Socialist Ideals Foremost Duty of the Communist Party" —AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 28/8/1989—In its series "The Revolutionary Process and the Lessons of History", SCINTEIA carries an article titled as above in its 27 August issue which reads inter alia: The revolutionary transformation of society, the building of the new socialist system, process of tremendous significance for mankind's historical development and progress, was and is made possible as experience has proved so far only by the continual increase of the leading role of the party of the working class, the Communist Party, as an objective requirement, a universally valid law of this vast work it is one of the basic landmarks of the entire activity of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], underscored by President Nicolae Ceausescu in the speech delivered at the solemn meeting marking the 45th anniversary of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution of social and national liberation.

According to the RCP's and its general secretary's conception, the permanent enhancement of this role, which does not mean to place the party above society, but to closely link it to the whole people, to put it at the service of their vital interests, is behind the aggregate of the other basic laws and principles of socialism, the implementation of which pursues the one and same aim of the people's welfare and happiness, the continual rise in their standard of living and civilization.

Historical experience, socio-economic facts in the contemporary world are strong evidence of the outstanding achievements scored under the leadership of the Communist Party, by the countries which have embarked upon the path of the new system, showing socialism as the highest and fairest form of societal organization, the only one where people's vital problems can be solved in a new way, for their free development and mankind's progress.

Although most of the socialist countries had a low development level initially and big difficulties to overcome, they managed to make essential changes, registered great achievements in the development of production forces, in the overall transformation of economic, social and political structures, in the flourishing of science, education and culture, in raising people's standard of living.

Romania's remarkable successes stand proof in this respect, as it turned from a little-developed country into an industrial-agrarian country in full progress in the years of socialist construction.

Romania's and other socialist countries' achievements could not have been possible had it not been for the leading role in society of communist and worker parties which, after having taken over, took wide-ranging political and organizational actions to rally the efforts of the whole people, as their own masters, to develop their creative energies, to work out the strategy and tactics for the eradication of the old system and the building of the new one, to apply the general laws of socialism to particular conditions in each country.

As but natural in socialist construction, which is still young, historically speaking, mistakes were sometimes made, there are also shortfalls and deficiencies. Experience and life show that the building of the new system is not a smooth path, a triumphant march, but a complex process, during which difficulties and obstacles emerge and must be overcome, contradictions settled.

But, in spite of all shortfalls, the consistent implementation of the general laws and principles of scientific socialism has helped solve all the problems, irrefutable evidence of the superiority of the socialist way in the development of human society, of the correctness of the revolutionary conception on the transformation of the world. Experience also showed that whenever these principles and laws had been circumvented, arrears inevitably emerged, shortfalls persisted and the settlement of issues was delayed.

The experience acquired in the building of the new system, the in-depth analysis of the peculiarities of this complex process evince the need to continually improve

the socio-economic activity, to renew the organizational forms in all fields, including the methods of governing society.

The RCP has fully understood this need. After the Ninth Congress, held 25 years ago, when President Nicolae Ceausescu gave a new revolutionary impulse to all compartments of the socio-political life, a critical analysis was made of socialist construction and development. It showed that in certain stages, mistakes have been made, deficiencies and shortfalls had cropped up, but the RCP had never failed and would never fail to distinguish between mistakes or deviations from the socialist road and socialism itself, the principles of socialism. Quite the contrary, it worked to redress them in time for the country's firm development along the socialist path.

Eliminating the conservative, rigid and subservient forms, patterns and dogmas related to the so-called "model" socialism, considering that socialism should be built with the people and for the people, in keeping with historical and social conditions in Romania, to which the principles of scientific socialism and generally objective laws should be creatively applied, the RCP has restored the whole nation to a sense of dignity and confidence in its own forces, has strengthened its will to be master of its own country, to decide freely on Romania's socio-economic development.

As early as 1965 President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that "in conditions of the new development stage of society the party's role as organizer and leader of the whole work of socialist construction grows still more." In keeping with this basic principle, consolidating steadily its function as vital centre of the nation, strengthening permanently its live, direct links with the mass of working people, the party unfolded vast and fertile activity for the elaboration of the steps and solutions necessary for advance, for the organization and mobilization of the whole people's forces toward the systematic modernization of the national economy, the steady improvement of the new relations of production, the development of the socialist property, the deepening of the socialist democracy, through the building of a new, revolutionary system of management of the whole activity. The results scored stand proof of the correctness of this policy, of its scientific character.

Other socialist countries as well evince preoccupations lately for improvement. Obviously, the RCP starts from the reality that socialism is built in conditions that differ from one country to another, from one people to another and even from one stage to another, by every party and every people, that are directly and fully responsible for the respective country's economic and social development and the building of socialism. As seen by the RCP, this means the firm application of the general objective laws, of the immutable socialist principles, the steady advance of the revolutionary road of building socialism and, in future, communism. The more obvious is therefore the profoundly noxious, inadmissible character of the ideas and theses that, by the pretext of renewals, pursue the dwarfing and eventually the devoiding of content of these basic requirements. Powerfully emphasizing the necessity of a firm attitude against any attempt to weaken and slander socialism, to the end of curbing or at least delaying the peoples' advance toward the liquidation of oppression and inequality, President Nicolae Ceausescu recently stressed that "the preoccupation for the improvement of socialist development in various countries should not take a stand of denying or underrating the force of socialism, but of affirming the might and superiority of socialism which is the future of the whole of mankind."

In the light of this postulate, one cannot help worrying about the tendencies or even actions taken in some countries, that question the role and responsibility of the Communist Party. The political parties are a result of historical development, they emerged as a result of society's division into antagonistic classes, into oppressors and oppressed, representing the expression of those classes' interests. Therefore the conclusion is only natural and logic that with the abolition of the exploiting classes and the building of a society of social justice and equity, democracy, real democracy, the whole people's participation in governing the society, can and must be achieved not through the existence of several parties, not through the emergence of so-called "alternate" political forces, but through new forms of organization and participation of the people in governing the society. Representing the interests of all social categories, of the whole people, the single party of the working class, armed with a revolutionary conception, is called upon to resolutely work for the building and development of the new system, for uniting the whole people in view of defending, consolidating and multiplying the socialist gains. In the absence of such a party there is not and there cannot be improvement and development of socialism.

Just as unacceptable are the ideas and actions pursuing the so-called privatization, meaning the giving up of the socialist ownership the sound base of the programs of socio-economic development through the revival of the mechanisms of the market economy. This pursues the maiming and ultimately the denial of another basic principle in the absence of which socialism cannot be conceived and the idea of socialism loses any meaning.

As seen by the RCP, socialist ownership, whether the whole people's ownership or cooperative ownership, is one of the fundamental requirements of building the new system, since it is only on this basis that the great possibilities of socialism, its resources of progress and welfare can be fully turned to advantage. The theories of a "market socialism," in fact a market economy, no matter their wrapping, mean inordinate development, a return to the forms of ownership characteristic of the capitalist system, with all the baleful phenomena that go with it wide-scale unemployment, inflation, crises, profiteering. Such a way can only mean a setback by tens and tens of years and not take ahead, can only threaten the development of socialism and even the socio-economic

development of the peoples, their independence and welfare, with all the grave consequences deriving from it.

The searches for renewal and improvement of the activity must not be realized through undermining and denying socialism. On the contrary, they should be realized through the assertion of its force, through the steady consolidation of the role of the working class' party, through the establishment of new measures that should consolidate the socialist property, actuate the socio-economic development and the more powerful growth of every country, ensure the raising of the people's material and spiritual living standard, social justice and equity.

The emphasis on this question is the more topical as the reactionary, imperialist forces have intensified their antisocialist, anti-communist activity. They back and encourage openly any vacillation and deviation from the principle of socialism, brutally interfere in various ways, even directly, in some countries' internal affairs, put up pressure and coercion, urge by all kinds of vain promises to the renunciation of the gains of the new system. In fact, a real doctrine of destabilization of the socialist countries was created and is intensely propagated, which recalls the cold war times of sad memory.

The Romanian people, the RCP consider it the supreme duty of the communist parties to ensure the continuity of the process of socialist revolution and construction, to firmly combat the pressure and interference of any kind, to reject any destabilizing attempt, to really promote the vital interests of the working class, of the peasantry, intelligentsia, of the whole people in the respective countries. One cannot speak of socialism if people is disregarded, if it is not built together with the people and for the people.

While assessing that the settlement of the internal issues, the elaboration of the ways and means of building the new system falls strictly in the competence of every party, and the rejection of any foreign interference is necessary, the RCP has also declared for the joint discussion of the aspects of socialist construction, in order to establish how work should be done best for overcoming difficulties emerged in the process of socialist construction as this accords with the interests of every country and with the interests of socialism generally.

In the spirit of the feelings of friendship and solidarity guiding its activity, the RCP expresses its confidence that the questions of renewal and improvement which are in fact permanent questions will be understood in their essence, that the difficulties emerged lately in some socialist countries will be overcome, that the socialist principles will find the way of broad assertion and the gains of socialism will be consolidated.

With the experience acquired, proved by unquestionable achievements, the communist parties do have the capability and avail of the necessary forces to ensure the accomplishment of the revolutionary ideals of building the new system, in forms fitting the realities of every country, in the interests and to the benefit of their own peoples, of the general cause of progress, of security and peace all over the world.

Central Committee Greets Communist Party USA

AU0709161889 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 2 Sep 89 p 6

[Message from the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee to the Communist Party USA on its 70th founding anniversary]

[Text] To the Central Committee of the Communist Party USA:

On behalf of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we convey warm comradely greetings to you and to all the members of your party on the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party USA.

The Romanian Communists and the Romanian working people are familiar with and appreciate the longstanding struggle that, under complex circumstances, your party has waged against reactionary and imperialist political circles, in order to fulfill the vital aspirations for progress and well-being of the working people in the United States and to consolidate the unity of action of all national progressive forces, in the activity of promoting justice and social equality, defending rights and democratic freedoms, and in building a future of peace, understanding, and cooperation throughout the world.

Under the current circumstances, strengthening solidarity and cooperation between communist and workers parties and between anti-imperialist, progressive, and democratic forces everywhere is an utmost priority in the struggle for the assertion of a new policy and new practices in international relations, aimed at safeguarding the peace of nations, achieving disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, finding equitable and durable solutions to all conflicts through negotiations, and establishing a new world economic order.

On this occasion, too, we reassert our desire that the relations of cooperation and solidarity between the RCP and the Communist Party USA develop constantly, on the basis of the principles of equality, autonomy, and non-interference in domestic affairs and on the basis of the right of each party to establish its political line independently, which is in accordance with the mutual interest of cooperation between our countries and peoples and the cause of unity of all anti-imperialist forces and the forces of socialism throughout the world.

Dear Comrades, we extend to you wishes for new successes in the activity of your party, constantly devoted to the achievement of the supreme aspirations of the workers class and of all the American people and to the triumph of the ideals of peace, progress, and socialism.

The RCP Central Committee

Iranian Paper Criticizes Belgrade, 'Arafat

AU0709122589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 89 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Attack on Yugoslavia, 'Arafat"]

[Text] Tehran, 5 Sep—The Iranian paper JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI yesterday sharply attacked Yugoslavia as the host of the nonaligned summit.

The commentary entitled "The Nonaligned Movement Needs Radical Transformation" states that "the nonaligned summit in Harare elected Yugoslavia as the host of the next summit because of the changes that are taking place in it, disregarding the fact that many other countries had expressed the readiness to act as host."

JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI, a paper known for expressing radical ideas of the Islamic revolution, writes:

"Many people had in mind the Yugoslavia of Tito's day, but the present Yugoslavia is hundreds of miles away from its original ideas."

The paper pays special attention to the draft resolution on Palestine which urges the movement's committee to "establish contacts with all the parties concerned," and to support an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations.

The Iranian press agency IRNA informed the Iranian public about this 2 days ago. The report states that this draft resolution was accepted by both Israel and Palestine. In this context, the Tehran paper concludes that the draft of this document could not have been formulated without Yasir 'Arafat who is referred to as the "traitor" of the Palestinian people. The paper also wonders "on behalf of which faction is 'Arafat speaking."

BORBA Praises 'Realism' Shown at Summit

AU0709090989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Sep 89 p 3

[Unattributed "Topic of the Day" commentary: "Realism"]

[Text] The first, opening session of the ninth nonaligned summit has already shown that the modernization of the movement and its new realism in perceiving the world and the position of the movement in it are not only empty words and mere wishful thinking. To a correspondent who has had the opportunity to report from several summits in the past, the course and subject matter of this first session looked almost unrecognizable.

Instead of an endless introductory speech of several hours (one need only remember Havana) containing philosophical views of the history of the movement and its principles, as well as a detailed assessment of all world processes and of every individual question and problem, we heard a concise, realistic, and fully comprehensible speech by the new chairman Janez Drnovsek, focusing on several major, mostly economic, problems which must find their place in the center of the Nonaligned Movement's activity in the coming period.

Instead of ideologized tirades, conflicts with the notorious "isms," revolutionary rhetorics, heated slogans, lessons given to others, and accusations launched against the big, the rich, and the powerful, or simply against those who think differently, during most of the morning speeches we were listening to data and facts, as well as specific initiatives and practical proposals on how nonaligned countries can above all help themselves in order to be able to receive help from the others.

Instead of ritual and courteous "thanks" to the hosts (who are, of course, always "hospitable" and "doing everything for the success of the summit") the representatives of the regional groups (Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe, and the "fifth continent" of the movement, the liberation movements) succinctly presented the basic preoccupations of the countries on whose behalf they spoke, showing that, despite all geographic, political, ideological, religious, cultural, and numerous other differences, they are still united by the dramatic problem of underdevelopment and the unbearable burden of debts. And this, as Ecuador's President Rodrigo Borja ingeniously remarked, is not only an economic or financial problem, but also an essential political problem and it is on its solution that the destiny of democracy depends in many nonaligned countries and therefore in this increasingly more interdependent and united world.

Instead of reporting on countless sessions and tons of paper that the movement has "produced" in the 3-year period between the two summits, during most of his report the former chairman Dr Robert Mugabe looked like a chairman of the board of an imaginary "bank for development" of the Nonaligned Movement who presented the gloomy, albeit indisputable, statistics on the increase in indebtedness and reduction of aid, on the slowing development rate, decreasing standard of living,and increasing rift between the developed and underdeveloped countries. The situation is gloomy, but not hopeless, because, as Mugabe put it, this very summit could be the catalyst of the resumption of the North-South dialogue. The proposal on convoking a new summit of developed and developing countries, which was made by the new chairman, Janez Drnovsek, in his introductory speech runs along the same line.

Therefore, the summit has begun in the spirit of the new realism. One must hope that this tone and spirit will remain and that they will not be diluted during the rest of the conference by the rhetorical self-satisfaction and self-centeredness that used to burden not only many summits in the past, but also the very work of the Nonaligned Movement.

Issue of Illegal Border Crossings Viewed

AU0709124589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 89 p 11

[Z. Tarle report: "Profiting from Other People's Troubles"]

[Excerpts] Reports on the discovery and apprehension of groups of people who are trying to cross our borders with Italy or Austria illegally have become more and more frequent. [passage omitted]

According to the statistics collected for the last year, 1,562 attempts to cross the border illegally were registered in Koper Commune alone. Most of these unfortunate people were in search of work and most of them were from Turkey, Asian countries, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, even India, as well as some African countries. Our and Italian authorities managed to discover and foil 14 illegal channels on the territory of the Koper Interior Secretariat, which covers 16 nautical miles and 59 kilometers of border. Four of those channels had been established by people from Gostivar, who organized illegal crossings to Italy charging $1,500 per person.

One can see how widespread this phenomenon was from the fact that some members of the group of organizers travelled abroad, even as far as the Philippines, in order to find people for whom they could organize illegal border crossings from Yugoslavia to Italy. These people usually traveled by plane to Ljubljana or by land via Greece and Bulgaria. Most of them were young and strong people who only needed passports for our country. Then they would try to cross over to the West in search of jobs. [passage omitted]

Our country's border with Italy is the easiest one to cross, so it is only logical that this is the road that was chosen and well planned as a channel for leaving Yugoslavia illegally. Many refugees used to cross the border with the help of Italian citizens who would cross over to our coast in their speedboats and take refugees back with them. This channel has now been blocked. It was also noticed that the refugees were taking drugs with them and planned to sell them in Italy. Marvin Napanasa, a young Filipino, was one in a group of refugees who tried to cross the border illegally in mid-July. He lost his life when, despite many warnings by the border authorities, the group failed to stop, so the border guards had to fire a shot into the air and then in the direction of the refugees. This opportunity was used to make agreements through the Philippine Embassy on introducing much stricter control of such illegal border crossings, so that they are a joint concern of not only our and the Italian governments, but also the governments of the countries from which these people come. [passage omitted]

In the first 6 months of this year, 2,497 persons tried to cross our western borders illegally. Of course, the number of the people who have succeeded remains unknown. There was an interesting case with the travel documents issued by the World Romany Association which resemble passports. Our border authorities have discovered such "passports" bearing stamps of many countries through which their owners travelled completely openly.

Can this phenomenon have wider consequences in the same way the case of asylum seekers had? Many of the people who cross the borders illegally subsequently try to gain the status of refugees. Our citizens, most of them ethnic Albanians, are managing to be given this status in the FRG. Therefore, it is good that Yugoslavia and Italy have signed an agreement according to which the Italian authorities will send all those who cross the border illegally back to our country, something which they were not obliged to do before.

Secretariat Statement on Helsinki Group Visit

AU0809064789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] In connection with the announcement by the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights to the effect that a delegation will come to our country to establish what the situation is in this field, it was stated by the Federal Secretariat for Justice that our country is very much interested in the world learning the truth. It was said, however, that this is very difficult to do unless there is correct cooperation with the appropriate organs of our country.

Journalists were told that the federal secretary for justice and administration sent a letter to the president of the Helsinki Federation and expressed his readiness to receive a delegation, because it is in our interest that the international public should obtain an objective picture of human rights in Yugoslavia and especially in Kosovo.

However, considering that the announced arrival of the delegation would have practically coincided with the nonaligned summit in Belgrade, it was proposed that the arrival of the delegation be postponed at least until the end of September. It was suggested that this time be used for defining the subjects in which the federation is particularly interested, as well as naming the personalities with whom it wants to get into touch.

Considering the announcement that the delegation will nevertheless arrive on 9 September, it was said that one had learned about the date from the press, because the officials of the organization had not replied to the letter suggesting that a date for the visit be arranged. Yugoslavia's official organs are prepared to cooperate, says the statement by the Federal Secretariat for Justice. It points out that an essential precondition is to respect the necessity of mutual cooperation. Suggestions on our part were intended to serve constructive cooperation, the secretariat stresses in its statement. It expresses its surprise that these suggestions were not accepted.

TANJUG, BAKHTAR Sign Exchange Agreement

LD0709083789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2045 GMT 6 Sep 89

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Sep (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav press agency, TANJUG, and the Afghan agency, BAKHTAR, signed in Belgrade today a 3-year agreement on cooperation and information exchange. The two agencies agreed to exchange daily information in English, press bulletins, and photos.

The agreement also envisages providing journalists working in the two countries with help, favors, and free services.

Nigerian President To Arrive on Official Visit

LD0809105689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0106 GMT 8 Sep 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Sept 8 (TANJUG)—Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida, who headed this country's delegation at the ninth non-aligned summit in the Yugoslav capital, will pay an official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia from September 8 to 10.

Yugoslav Presidency President Janez Drnovsek and the Nigerian president will on Friday evening discuss the development of the two countries' relations and the activities of the non-aligned in accordance with the conclusions adopted at the Belgrade conference.

'Anti-Serbian Slogans' Reported in Ljubljana

AU0709085689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 89 p 16

[M. Laketic report: "Anti-Serbian Slogans"]

[Text] Ljubljana, Sep [date as published]—The slogan "Hang the Serbs" was discovered this morning at the Serbian Orthodox church of Sts Cyril and Methodius in Ljubljana. The slogan, in red paint and about 5 meters long, was also repeated on the exterior wall, alongside the street.

This is of course not the first time that slogans of this kind have been found at the Orthodox church in Ljubljana. In March, immediately following the meeting in the Cankar Hall, the 10-meter long slogan "Serbs out of Slovenia" was found. The church authorities kept this quiet for a long time.

Dragoljub Svetozarevic, Ljilja Laketic-Musa, Milutin Sekulic, and Dejan Blagojevic protested to the Ljubljana Socialist Alliance of Working People City Committee over this "emigration proposal" in March, demanding that the writer of the slogan be identified and punished accordingly, but all this came to nothing.

Slovenes, Serbs Contrast on Self-Determination

AU0709155989 Ljubljana Domestic Service in Slovene 1330 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] The proposed changes to the Slovene Constitution have become a major bone of contention in some parts of Yugoslavia. The Serbs are particularly concerned about the provisions that, in their opinion, change relations in the federation. Some even argue that with its constitutional amendments, Slovenia threatens the constitutional system and integrity of Yugoslavia. Of course, each side may hold its own opinions, but it is proper that we should present the arguments. Janko Saradzen is doing this in our main afternoon information cast:

It has long been known that two views on the further life of the federation exist in Yugoslavia. They may be simply called the Slovene and the Serbian views, since others have not yet made a decision, at least not in their programs. These two options have been reflected all this time in the discussions of the new Constitution, and particularly in the Slovene constitutional reform and the Serbian proposal for political reforms.

The criticism of the Slovene provisions arises from such a political program rather than from any arguments in the constitutional law. The amendments that define the right to self-determination, the economic sovereignty, the use of the language, the procedure to be taken when the federation violates the rights of Slovenes, the rights of the nationalities, the amendment providing that a state of emergency may be proclaimed only with the consent of the Slovene Assembly, and some others are therefore (?under fire). We will try to confront both sides' arguments, this time about the notion of self-determination.

A few years ago, expert opinion was divided on whether the right to self-determination has been used up and consumed, or is it a lasting right. In Serbia, it is unanimously thought now that the right has been used up, that the Slovene provision prejudices the solution of this question [words indistinct], that it causes inequality of the people, and that it may endanger the integrity of Yugoslavia.

The proposed changes to the Slovene Constitution say that the right to self-determination is lasting and inalienable, and includes the right to secession and unification. The argument offered in support is that this is a natural right of every people and that it is also regulated by international legal acts which are an integral part of the valid legal system in Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav federation, as a multinational community of equal peoples, can exist and develop only on the actual interests of each people. An involuntary or forced inclusion in the federation cannot offer any prospects for life together. The integrity of Yugoslavia may be threatened only by relations that do not meet the interests of every people.

A Yugoslavia whose integrity is based on coercion, with political or military force against a people, would no longer be a Yugoslavia in keeping with its own constitutional system. Different theoretical views on the right to

self-determination cannot change the nature of the Yugoslav federation as a voluntary community. It is precisely the right to self-determination that enhances democratic relations in Yugoslavia. Slovenia recognizes this right of every people. This means that there is no inequality involved.

Knin Society Criticizes 'Croatian Bureaucrats'

AU0709154489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Text] At a news conference at the Serbian writers association, members of the administration and representatives of the Zora Serbian cultural society from Knin spoke about acts of repression against participants in celebrations held in the Knin region to mark the 600th anniversary of the battle of Kosovo. Spomenka Deretic has the details:

Zora representatives Zdravko Zecevic, Marko Dobrijevic, Nenad Kosovic, and Dragan and Mirko Harambesic stressed that Croatian bureaucrats used the celebrations in Kosovo, near Knin, to arrest certain Serb participants and in fact attack the Serbian leadership in Belgrade. It is illogical, stressed the engineer Zdravko Zecevic, that young men from the Knin region were sent to prison for 45 days for wearing badges with Slobodan Milosevic's picture at the celebrations, while the so-called hooligans from Sibenik who attacked tourists from Belgrade and Novi Sad with knives were sentenced to only 15 days in prison. The lawyer Marko Dobrijevic, the teacher Nenad Kosovic, and the agricultural worker Dragan Harambesic openly spoke about searches of apartments, threats, and blackmail.

All participants in the news conference stressed that the present Serbian leadership had battled for the dignity of its own people, as well as that of other peoples in Yugoslavia, and for democracy throughout our entire homeland. They particularly underscored that they are not Serbian chauvinists and that none of them have anything against the Croatian people who would have given them support had they been properly informed and not overwhelmed by the lies about Serbs from Serbia that can be read in certain articles in the Croatian press. As the most flagrant example, they cited articles by SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in which the Croatian intelligentsia are openly called upon to destroy the legally elected leadership of Serbia.

A protest meeting will be held at 1900 [1700 GMT] this evening on the premises of the Serbian writers association in which members of the Zora society will take part.

Albanian Pamphlets Call for Protests, Strikes

AU0709134889 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Sep 89 p 7

[M. Antic report: "Headquarters Calls for an Uprising"]

[Text] The scenario has repeated itself, and the headquarters of the counterrevolution has spoken once more through the famous "movement for a Kosovo republic." A pamphlet has been distributed throughout Kosovo, which is for the most part a typical one. If it is passed over without comment or urgent social action, at a time when no one knows how far the pamphlet has gone, there could be dire consequences.

The writers and ideologists of the separatist movement in Kosovo express themselves clearly. They remind "pupils, students, workers, peasants, and all Albanians" that the ninth nonaligned summit is currently being held in Belgrade, and that it is therefore time for the Albanians to rise, "and to organize demonstrations, work stoppages, and school boycotts during the summit." They insist that "the whole people must join together, so that the Yugoslav state will be seen in its true colors." They emphasize that they must demand "that Kosovo and its territories should be granted republican status; that the emergency measures should be lifted; that all political prisoners should be freed; that ideopolitical differentiation, seen as a method of confronting the progressive intelligentsia, should be abandoned; that the renewed colonization of Kosovo and the favor shown to Great Serbian, Macedonian,and Montenegrin chauvinism to the detriment of the Albanians should be stopped; that all primary school pupils should move on to high schools; that the number of Albanian students should not be reduced; that schools, colleges, and other institutions should not be closed at a time when new prisons, military barracks, and militia stations have been opened; they demand jobs for Albanian young people, despite the efforts of Serbian chauvinists to bring back all political and economic emigrants; and that the Albanian people should be able to elect their own leadership and representatives in all state and party bodies."

At the end of the lengthy pamphlet, Yugoslavia and Serbia are insulted in the grossest way, with threats of the use of weapons if separatist demands are not met, and particularly if the right to self-determination and secession is not granted. All this ends with a further call for demonstrations and the stoppages in work and education to be raised to the still higher pitch of "a just struggle of our people." Before the postscript, which reads "Kosovo—Republic," stands the entire gamut of familiar separatist slogans.

As is to be expected, the illegal leadership of the separatist movement advocates that everything should be done to internationalize "the Albanian question" and states that there is no better occasion than the ninth nonaligned summit in Belgrade. It is obvious what the enemy wants. It is nevertheless astonishing that a number of intellectuals should be involved in this filthy game of inciting the Albanians against Yugoslavia and above all against their own interests. They all reckon that bringing pupils, students, workers and peasants onto the streets would be a fresh occasion for the use of arms and for bloodshed, for which Yugoslavia would be blamed once again.

Political action in Kosovo is assuming ever greater dimensions. More often than ever before, Albanians themselves are pointing their fingers at meetings at those who advocate counterrevolution. All this, besides many other positive trends in Kosovo, is to be considered a guarantee that the vast number of Albanians will not heed this or any other similar call by the separatists. Besides, their prime hope—in the dissatisfaction of teachers over their low incomes—has proved abortive. By now, the teachers have accepted "what society is able to do" and, except in a couple of schools, have begun the school year normally. The situation has been similar in the case of the Trepca miners. In their recent strikes, they "forgot" politics, and stressed only economic demands. However, there can be no rash assertions where Kosovo is concerned, and particularly no assertions that nothing will or can happen.

It must however be expected that both now and in the future the Albanians themselves will condemn such efforts by the headquarters of the counterrevolution and some of its intellectual henchmen, and that the appropriate authorities will finally expose and destroy the "main headquarters" that is spreading such poison.

Kosovo, Pec Teachers 6-Day Strikes End

LD0709200889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1352 GMT 7 Sep 89

[Summary] Pristina, 7 Sep (TANJUG)—After the teachers' strike in Kosovo which lasted several days, elementary and secondary schools are working normally. The 6-day teachers strike in four secondary school centers in Pec has ended. The strike is still on in three schools in Urosevac. As a result of the intervention of the Kosovo Executive Council and competent educational institutions, teachers received a share of funds to improve their material status.

Titograd Party Plans To Purge Ranks, Reform

AU0809084789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Sep 89 p 7

[S. Vukasinovic: "A Long List of 'Sinners'"]

[Excerpts] Titograd, 5 Sep—Although the extraordinary congress of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro has very clearly bound the communal basic organizations of the League of Communists to publicly express their views on the political and other (ir)responsibility of the former leaderships at all levels—from the federation to communes—so that the grass-roots organizations can express their views, much time has elapsed since any action has been taken.

Several days ago the Presidium of the Communal Committee of the League of Communists of Danilovgrad made a move—it proposed that discussions be held on eight people from its territory. [passage omitted]

If one is to make progress, one should clarify and sort out the cadre situation. This primarily implies that one should establish the responsibility of former officials, not only their personal responsibility, but also their work and legal responsibilities, that is, of course, if they exist. There are many reasons why this work should be completed as soon as possible, but the main ones are the need to prevent the witch-hunt for the people who are not guilty, and to remove the label of "scapegoat" from those who are not guilty.

This job will be completed in Titograd by 1 November, and the Communal Committees of the League of Communists will give their final word. They should take a stand on initiating the process of establishing political and other responsibility of the following: Veselin Djuranovic, Vidoje Zarkovic, Dobroslav Culafic, Marko Orlandic, Miljan Radovic, Vuko Vukadonovic, Bozina Ivanovic, Radivoje Brajovic, Slobodan Filipovic, and other federal and republican officials. [passage omitted]

Sarajevo TV Interrupts Program on Cer Battle

AU0709140989 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 89 p 9

[M. Duric report: "Report From Mountain Cer Taken Off the Air Suddenly"]

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 29 Aug—The viewers of Sarajevo television have again been deprived. This time they were deprived of a special reportage devoted to the heroes of the battle of Cer that was broadcast on Sunday evening.

Sarajevo television started to show the reportage on the anniversary of the battle of Cer and just as the viewers were getting interested in it, the reportage was suddenly taken off the air. What followed was not the reportage on the battle of Cer, but a culture program on ancient Greek verse broadcast from the Novi Sad studio.

This, of course, caused considerable reaction by the viewers from the Cer region who wanted to see the reportage, especially because the events and facts shown in this reportage are, unfortunately, not well known today.

It was not easy to get the answer from Sarajevo television as to why this had happened. An excessively busy secretary at Sarajevo television briefly told us: "Everybody is on vacation. Only the chief and responsible editor Nenad Pejic is here." [passage omitted]

A brief conversation with Nenad Pejic led to another surprise: Sarajevo television never intended to show the report on the anniversary of the battle of Cer. According to the chief and responsible editor of Sarajevo television, Nenad Pejic, this was a technical mishap. What happened was that the reportage "slipped" into the program by mistake and when this was realized the program was taken off the air immediately. [passage omitted]

After being deprived of the program on Medjugorje liturgical service to Kosovo heroes, and other programs, the viewers of Sarajevo television were now deprived of a program on what happened on Cer. [passage omitted]

BORBA Sued For Violating Author's Copyright

AU0709124489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Aug 89 p 3

[D.D. report: "Bavcar Is Suing BORBA"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 29 Aug—The Belgrade District Court has received the charges brought by Igor Bavcar, leader of the Ljubljana Committee for the Protection of Human Rights, against BORBA and the BORBA correspondent from Slovenia Veselin Simonovic. The plaintiff's attorney, Ljubljana lawyer Drago Demser, claims in the charges that by publishing parts of Igor Bavcar's notes entitled "My Talks" in four installments, BORBA had in fact violated the author's copyright. The charges also state that these notes were meant for the exclusive use of the members of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights.

Let us recall, Igor Bavcar presented these notes to one of the top representatives of the Ljubljana police and they then found their way to Janez Stanovnik, president of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, and TRIBUNA, the paper that eventually published them. This is why Bavcar has sued TRIBUNA. BORBA, that is to say Veselin Simonovic, used the essence of the notes published in TRIBUNA to describe Igor Bavcar's talks with Slovene newspapers and officials.

DELO Comments on Farming Policy, Protest

AU0609192389 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 29 Aug 89 p 1

[Bojana Jager "The Topic of the Day" commentary: "He Who Sows the Wind Reaps the Whirlwind"]

[Text] The long-predicted peasants' meeting in Belgrade was not an all-Yugoslav affair, because it was attended chiefly by peasants from some Vojvodina and Serbian villages. It would also be difficult to say that it was exclusively of a social class nature, because the established stage-management of meetings could not be linked to dissatisfaction with the position of farming all the time, although this was the official reason for holding the meeting.

Neither the Slovene, nor Vojvodina, nor other peasants all over Yugoslavia are satisfied with the position of this branch of the economy—virtually all the development misconceptions of socialism are amassed in the lagging behind of farming—or with the position of peasants in this socialism. However, opinions on how to change it obviously differ. In some parts of the country, for instance, peasants alliances and associations are formed, and they are an expression of obvious mistrust in the present institutions.

Elsewhere they strive to get the institutions of the system to reasonably, and with good arguments, study the Federal Executive Council proposals on shaping a new farming policy, which would not longer stress the social role of farming as a supplier but would be a part of the market-oriented Yugoslav economy.

If we dismiss all the "ideological unclear points," such as the demand that in a market economy, "economic criteria should prevail in the morning, and one should buy cheap food in the afternoon," it is true that the majority of the peasants' demands at least agree with the outline offered by the government. This means that one could find a common language in determining the new position of farming, but of course not at a meeting and only if it is indeed a question of farming alone. The speakers stressed that they did not come to undermine the government, but they also said that they cannot allow the government to undermine them. All together it slightly resembles a boxing match, where what is important is who will stay on his feet longer.